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THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IMAGE OF WOMAN AS PORTRAYED IN THE WRITINGS OF SARAH STICKNEY ELLIS AND THE POPULAR PERIODICAL. 1840-1845

by

LYNN McPHERSON

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF EDUCATION IN HISTORY OF EDUCATION

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DATE September 10, 1982

ABSTRACT

The intent of this study is to explore the image of the nineteenth-century middle-class woman as it was portrayed through the writings of Sarah Stickney Ellis and a select group of popular nineteenth-century periodicals. Only the five-year period from 1840 to 1845 is considered in order that a deeper and more complete examination of both the source material looked at, and the period in which it was produced, can be obtained.

The thesis proceeds in chapter one with an introduction to the thesis topic, providing a brief survey of existing literature related to the topic and a consideration of the validity of this particular study.

In chapter two, Mrs. Ellis and her world are described. The economic, political, social, religious, and educational developments and movements occurring in the nineteenth century are considered for their relationship to and effect on the nineteenth-century woman's world, and for the shaping influence such events had on the development of Mrs. Ellis's own thoughts and beliefs. As part of the background of the nineteenth century, the rise and development of the periodical press in this century is also discussed. A brief biography of Mrs. Ellis is included in this chapter, and excerpts of reviews of Mrs. Ellis's books that appeared in various periodicals are discussed in order to establish Mrs. Ellis's significance as a writer in the period under review. Establishing the background of the nineteenth century is important to understanding the woman's world of that century, and the development of the ideas presented by Mrs. Ellis and by the writers for the periodicals.

The image of woman Mrs. Ellis presented through her writing is examined in chapter three. That what Mrs. Ellis had to say about the women of England - the roles and duties she assigned to them, the way in which she described their nature and character, and the advice she offered them are all outlined in this chapter.

In chapter four, the image of woman as portrayed in the periodical is examined. A content analysis of three types of periodicals, all popular with women, is undertaken and the results discussed. A selection of general-audience periodicals is also reviewed for their content pertaining to or about women. The roles, duties and characteristics assigned to women by the writers for the periodicals are discussed and compared with the portrayal of women Mrs. Ellis provided.

In the final chapter, a conclusion about the sort of image or images of the middle-class woman being presented in the writing of Mrs. Ellis and the periodicals is arrived at. As well, an explanation for why such images of the early Victorian middle-class woman developed will also be attempted.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to consider the image of the middle-class Victorian woman as it was presented in the writings of Sarah Stickney Ellis and in a select group of nineteenth-century British periodicals. The years focussed on in this study are from 1840 to 1845; it was primarily in this five year period that Mrs. Ellis wrote and published a series of four books of advice directed to the women of England. The titles of these books are: The Women of England, The Daughters of England, The Wives of England and The Mothers of England. These books were commonly referred to by the Victorians as the 'Women of England' series and proved to be very popular and widely-read books. Also increasing in popularity throughout the nineteenth century was the periodical. Both the number and variety of periodicals flourished in the nineteenth century, and by 1840 there were a number of such widely-read magazines available on the market. People living in nineteenth-century Britain were also becoming increasingly literate, and as the century progressed they came to depend more and more on the printed word as a means of both communicating and receiving ideas. The intent of this study is to arrive at an understanding of what sort of image of woman the Victorians themselves subscribed to. This will be accomplished by studying two sources of printed word that were widely read by the Victorians themselves: the periodicals and Mrs. Ellis's books. The questions involved with this study will include: what were the differences and similarities between Mrs. Ellis's presentation of the image of woman and the periodicals' presentation?, was there only one image, or were there several 'images of woman' presented? and were there

any contradictions within the presented images of woman themselves?

Although there have been many studies done, particularly in recent years, on Victorian women and their role in nineteenth-century society, the field of study is a large one and many areas relevant to it have been largely unexplored. For example, the source materials used for this study have been used only infrequently and in limited ways in previous studies. Sarah Stickney Ellis wrote a number of books in her life time, on a variety of topics. Her books were well-received by the Victorian reading public; the books in the 'Women of England' series sold so well that they went through a number of reprintings. Mrs. Ellis's books were frequently reviewed in the leading periodicals of her day, both in the women's and in the general-audience periodicals. Her books even received notice in American periodicals. Most of the reviews of Mrs. Ellis's works that appeared in the periodicals were positive, with the reviewers usually encouraging their female readers to read the books and practice the advice they contained. Mrs. Ellis was a prominent and important member of early Victorian society. She was married to the Reverend William Ellis, a well-known British missionary and author, and she became involved with some of her husband's mission work as well as continuing to write. Despite her significance to the early Victorian period, and the fact that she was one of the most popular and respected writers of advice books for women, Sarah Stickney Ellis remains a virtually unstudied figure. Uncovering biographical information on Mrs. Ellis was very difficult; she is mentioned only very briefly in a few biographical reference books, and these references are usually made only in adjunct to biographical references made about her husband, the Reverend William Ellis. Such

facts as her date of birth, family background, schooling, and experiences prior to her marriage are not even mentioned in the biographical references to her that do exist. Mrs. Ellis is mentioned frequently in modern works about Victorian women, but these works are often general in scope, and reference to Mrs. Ellis and her books is very scattered and brief. Interestingly enough, two of these books that deal with the topic of women in the nineteenth-century have as their titles phrases from Mrs. Ellis's 'Women of England' series, these being Suffer and be Still, and Relevant Creatures.[1] A few excerpts from Mrs. Ellis's books are frequently reprinted in these modern works, but none of them focus very extensively on Mrs. Ellis or her books.

The periodicals are also a source used only infrequently in modern studies about nineteenth-century life. There are problems involved with research using nineteenth-century periodicals; problems such as "anonymity of authors, confusion in titles and inadequate or non-existent indices."[2] A particular problem for anyone using nineteenth-century periodicals to do research on the topic of women is the difficulty in knowing or guessing the many ways in which 'women' can be labelled and then written about in the periodicals. The Wellesley Index and Poole's Index do list entries under such headings as "woman," "female," "lady," "wife," "sister," "mother" and "daughter" but, as E. M. Palmegiano writes, "these citations, though helpful, refer to a very small fraction of the data which exists."[3] Palmegiano found, while compiling a bibliography about women in the nineteenth-century periodical press, that in addition to the above categories, one might also check the following categories in the periodicals for additional information about women: "domestic," "housewife," "marriage," "divorce," "old maid,"

"widow," "girl," "prostitute," "needlewomen," "governess," "love," and "romance."

Except for a small reference in the Wellesley or Poole indexes, it is difficult to gather much background information on some of the more obscure and less well-known periodicals. Cynthia White's book, Women's Magazines 1693-1968 provides one with a valuable overview of the history of the woman's periodical press, and her brief descriptions of the stance and editorial policy of the various periodicals are also very useful. However, her book is intended only as a general overview, and does not deal with any of the periodicals or particular periods of time in any extensive detail. Other than White's book, there are few other books or studies that deal exclusively with the woman's press. The more general texts on the nineteenth century or even those that are more specifically about Victorian women refer to periodicals in generally limited ways. None of the secondary material looked at for this study made extensive use of the periodical as a research source. There is room, then, for a study such as this, that examines in detail a small number of periodicals over a given period of time. Despite the problems encountered, this particular approach is an interesting one; it introduces the researcher to the thoughts, questions, debates, and beliefs of the Victorians themselves.

The time period being concentrated on in this study, 1840 to 1845, is one that is frequently ignored in the existing books and studies of the nineteenth century. General texts on the Victorian period confine most of their descriptions about women to those women who lived during the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was in this period, from the mid-1860's until the end of the century, that issues revolving around women's rights to vote, to enter professions, to enjoy legal

equalities with men, and to gain access to institutions of higher learning came into focus. John Stuart Mill's The Subjection of Women was published in 1869, and it served to fuel a feminist and emancipation movement that remained strong through the remainder of the nineteenth century. The woman who supported the feminist cause was labeled by the popular press as "the new woman," and the debate that surrounded the topic of women's rights became known as "the woman question." This is the period, then, that is written about most often in those books where the topic is Victorian women. E. M. Palmegiano describes the years between 1832 and 1867 as dates that mark, roughly, "a time often ignored in Victorian women's history." As she further writes:

> The years between Mary Wollstonecraft and John Stuart Mill are conventionally regarded as an intellectual hiatus during which the notion of the female as non-person reached its apogee of popularity.[4]

It is useful to have studies that consider the early Victorian woman, then, in order that mere conventional knowledge can be replaced by insight and understanding based on actual study of the period. As well, an appreciation of the lifestyle of the early Victorian woman would undoubtedly increase one's understanding of the lives of those women who lived in the latter part of the century.

The secondary source material that exists on Victorian women generally focuses on different concerns than that which is being focussed on in this study. Many of the books consist of general historical overviews of the women in the nineteenth-century. Books of this type include: Feminine Attitudes in the Nineteenth Century by Dr. C. Willett Cunnington, The Early Victorian Woman by Janet Dunbar,

and The Victorian Woman by Duncan Crow. Two books, both edited by Martha Vicinus, consist of a collected group of essays that are bound together by the theme of considering some aspect of the life of women in the nineteenth century. The titles of these two books are: Suffer and be Still, and A Widening Sphere. Both books provide excellent bibliographies for anyone interested in researching further the topic of Victorian women, and Vicinus writes in the preface of both books of the need for many more studies and more research to be carried out in this area. Several books share a similarity with this study in that they too are interested in the images and character of Victorian women as they were revealed through the printed word. They confine their study of the printed word, however, primarily to Victorian literature. The titles of these books are: The Victorian Heroine, A Changing Ideal 1837-1873 by Patricia Thompson, Women in Print by Alison Adburgham, The Victorians and Their Reading by Amy Cruse, Relative Creatures by Francoise Basch and The Madwoman in the Attic by Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar. Other books that proved useful to this study by providing background information about the period being considered include Victorian People by Asa Briggs, The Victorian Gentleman by Michael Brander, Victorian People and Ideas by Richard Altick, The Victorian Home by Jenni Calder, Feminism and Family Planning in Victorian England by J. A. and Olive Banks, and Portrait of an Age by G. M. Young. In the context of the books and studies that do exist about women in the nineteenth century, this study provides a useful contribution to this accumulated knowledge. It makes extensive use of valuable primary source material, the writings of Mrs. Ellis, and a number of periodicals, sources that have been somewhat neglected in

other works. The study also concentrates on a period of time that has been generally overlooked in favor of a later period in the nineteenth-century when women were more outspoken and demanding of their wants and rights, and when, therefore, material on women is more abundant for the researcher. The problem this study deals with, namely that of discerning what the image or images of the Victorian middle-class woman was according to at least two different sources of Victorian thought, has implications that make it valuable for better understanding the present as well as the past. The importance of the image the woman of the nineteenth century had to live with has contemporary significance; no doubt the images we possess of women in the twentieth century have their roots in the popular image or images that existed of women in the previous century. Also interesting about this study for its relationship to the present is the consideration of how social class plays a role in determining one's image. The importance of the bourgeois world to the nineteenth century is an importance that is shared also in the twentieth century; perhaps, then, similarities in the image of woman in this century and the last can be attributed in part to the significance of bourgeois elements that were present in both. Raymond Williams, for example, suggests that 'bourgeois' is a significant term that stands for the pursuit of individualism in a society; it will be interesting to consider how a thrust towards individualism in a society would affect the images of women developed in that same society.[5]

The limitations of this study are those that accompany the attempt to narrow its confines. The fact that the time period being considered consists of a span of only five years limits somewhat the kind of generalizations or conclusions one can arrive at. The short time span

also makes it more difficult to base these conclusions on events or movements occuring over the course of the nineteenth century; a study of a longer time span would lend itself more easily to a consideration of how historical forces shape events in a society. The study is limited also by the restricted number of periodicals utilized for the research, although this restriction was enforced by the limited access to periodicals published between 1840 and 1845, and by time restrictions for the study. The small sample of periodicals may result in some distortion of results; one has to be careful, then, of drawing too many broad and general conclusions on the basis of this small periodical sample. Ideally, it would have been useful to have had several periodicals of each of the types looked at in this study rather than only one, in order that a more complete understanding could be arrived at of what the various periodicals were all about. Finally, a further limitation of the study is that the images it deals with are primarily images of reality, based on the portrayal of women in the textual writing of Mrs. Ellis and on the items that were published in the various periodicals. Perhaps a different image of woman would be portrayed by the writers of Victorian literature; the heroines and female characters of Victorian novels and fiction might portray an image of woman that is quite removed from what we find in Mrs. Ellis or in the periodicals. Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, in their book The Madwoman in the Attic, suggest that female writers of literature in the nineteenth century portrayed women in the images of 'angel' and 'monster' adapted by them from their male contemporaries:

> The images of "angel" and "monster" have been
> so ubiquitous throughout literature by men
> that they have also pervaded women's writing
> to such an extent that few women have definitively

> "killed" either figure. Rather, the female imagination has perceived itself, as it were, through a glass darkly: until quite recently the woman writer has had (if only unconsciously) to define herself as a mysterious creature who resides behind the angel or monster or angel/monster image that lives on what Mary Elizabeth Coleridge called "the crystal surface",[6]

Because several of the items in the periodicals are fiction, there may be some of these 'literary images' of woman as angel and monster reflected in the image(s) of women that these periodicals portray. The limitations of this study, I believe, are not major enough to detract from the merits of it. Attempting to keep the study within limits may result in the loss of some benefits but, hopefully, what will be gained by doing so is a more thorough and complete examination of both the source material looked at, and the years in which it was produced.

The thesis will proceed with a description in chapter two of Mrs. Ellis and her world. Establishing the background of the century in which Mrs. Ellis grew up is important to better understanding how her ideas developed and how they may have been influenced by events occuring in the nineteenth century. A brief biography of Mrs. Ellis is included in this chapter, and excerpts of reviews of Mrs. Ellis's books in the 'Women of England' series that appeared in various periodicals will also be included. The numerous reviews of Mrs. Ellis's works, and the prestigious periodicals in which they appeared will help to establish just how influential and significant a figure Mrs. Ellis was; her books were indeed well-received by the middle-class female audience they were intended for. As part of establishing the background of the nineteenth century, a section on the history of the rise of periodicals in the century, concentrating particularly on women's periodicals, will also be included in this chapter. The purpose of this chapter is

to provide a context in which the rest of the study can proceed; it provides an essential background for understanding how Mrs. Ellis's books and the popular periodicals were significant in promoting and portraying images of the nineteenth-century woman.

In chapter three, the writing of Mrs. Ellis is considered in some detail. The intent in this chapter is to outline what Mrs. Ellis had to say about the women of England; how she described them, what she believed to be true about their nature, and importantly, how she defined their position and role in society. All of these factors are important in appreciating the kind of 'image of woman' Mrs. Ellis was portraying in her writing. The chapter is divided into four sections; each section consisting of Mrs. Ellis's thoughts on a particular category of woman. These categories are: daughter, wife, mother and spinster. The rationale for selecting these particular categories in which to place the women of England is based on the categorization process Mrs. Ellis herself used. She wrote a separate book to each of the daughters of England, the wives of England, and the mothers of England. Although Mrs. Ellis did not write a separate book for the spinsters of England, clearly that is the only other category Mrs. Ellis could have envisioned for women if they were neither wives nor mothers. She viewed the progression of a female from the role of daughter to the roles of wife and mother as being a very natural and correct one. Spinsters, for Mrs. Ellis, were often noble but essentially pitiful women who had somehow missed out on fulfilling the 'most natural' roles a woman could assume, those of wife and mother. Her books were written with the intention of helping women appreciate the responsibilities such roles entailed, and to remind them that no matter what their age or

role, they had important duties and services to render. In chapter three, what Mrs. Ellis had to say concerning the daughters, wives, mothers and spinsters of early Victorian England will be considered.

In the fourth chapter of this study the image of woman as portrayed in the periodicals will be examined. Three types of periodicals will be studied in detail: a woman's periodical, a family-oriented periodical, and three annuals. The annuals are counted as one periodical; in the first section of this chapter, then, three periodicals are carefully analyzed to determine how women were portrayed in them. These particular types of periodicals were chosen because although all three kinds were popular with women, the format of each type, as will be outlined in chapter four, was different. The annuals were almost all fiction and catered largely to young females, the woman's magazine contained mostly fiction and poetry and was intended for mature women, while the family periodical was composed of a much more varied content and intended for both men and women. Although all the available issues of these periodicals published between 1840 and 1845 were studied, a content analysis of the periodicals was undertaken for just one of the five years for each periodical. In chapter four, a detailed explanation will be given of how the content analysis was structured, how the content was categorized, and exactly how information about women in the periodicals was charted. The reason for doing a content analysis on the periodicals was primarily to obtain a more exact understanding of what the periodicals contained; to learn how many of the items related to women and what types of women, and how many of each type were represented. An explanation of the 'types' of women represented in the periodicals will also be provided in chapter four. It was felt that

the statistics arrived at by subjecting the periodicals to a content analysis would be useful in ensuring that observations and conclusions about the periodicals would be based on something more exact than impression. In the latter part of chapter four, a number of well-known, general-audience nineteenth-century periodicals are looked at to see what was written about women in them. Their contents are not analyzed, but their portrayal of women is compared with that in the first three types of periodicals.

Finally, in chapter five, a conclusion about what sort of image or images of the middle-class woman was being presented in the writing of Mrs. Ellis and the periodicals will be arrived at. Similarities in the images presented by Mrs. Ellis and the periodicals will be considered, and an explanation for why such an image or images of the early middle-class Victorian woman developed will also be attempted.

The image of woman a society develops and lives with tells us as much about that society as it does about the women who had to live with such an image and both shape and, in turn, be shaped by it.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER ONE

[1] Martha Vicinus, Suffer and be Still (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), n. pag. and Martha Vicinus, A Widening Sphere (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), n. pag.

[2] E. M. Palmegiano, "Women and British Periodicals, 1832-1867, A Bibliography," Victorian Periodicals Newsletter, 9 (March, 1976), 3.

[3] Ibid., p. 3.

[4] Ibid., p. 3.

[5] Raymond Williams, Culture and Society 1780-1950 (England: Penguin Books, 1958), p. 312.

[6] Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, The Madwoman in the Attic (London: Yale University Press, 1979), p. 17.

CHAPTER 2

MRS. ELLIS AND THE NINETEENTH CENTURY WORLD OF WOMEN

To better understand Mrs. Ellis and her writing, it is important to learn something about her own life and about the century in which she grew up. Undoubtedly, Mrs. Ellis's historical and biographical background was significant to the development of her ideas concerning women, and it will be interesting to consider the extent to which her ideas were mirrored in the nineteenth-century periodicals written for women. Of particular importance for this chapter is an examination of the changes occuring in the lives of women in the nineteenth-century, the better to understand the 'image of woman' being presented through the writings of Sarah Stickney Ellis, and through the pages of the periodicals.

(1) The 19th Century and the World of Women

The nineteenth-century woman's world was a fascinating world indeed. It was a world, at least for the middle and upper-class woman, characterized by a narrowing of role and sphere; where the confines of home and family became the cornerstones of most women's lives. It was a world strangely in contrast with, and yet developing partially as a result of the development in other arenas of the Victorian world. Economic, political, social, religious, and educational changes and developments occurring within the nineteenth-century all had an effect on the world of the Victorian woman.

Britain's increasing wealth and the growing complexity of her economy necessitated changes in the structuring of Victorian society. The economic power of the country was shifting from land to industry, and industrialization was beginning to give England its wealth. The

increase of industry and technology was accompanied by the separation of the business premises from the home. As the men left to go off to work, the typical middle-class Victorian woman was left at home to preside over things there. This separation of middle and upper-class women from the business world was largely a phenomon of the nineteenth-century. In the seventeenth-century, women of the aristocracy often managed family households and estates. In the eighteenth century, there was a variety of occupations open to middle-class business women, and as widows, women often carried on their husbands' trades "whatever these might have been - bookselling or hat-making, building or iron-mongery."[1] Of course, in all three centuries women of the lowest classes of society continued to work and labour, unable to afford to be confined to the home as housewives.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the industrialization and population of England continued to increase. Britain's population had risen from 10.5 millions in 1801 to 18.1 millions by 1841.[2] Despite this increase in population and industry, the 1840's were a decade of economic precariousness for Britain, often referred to as the "hungry forties."

Middle class women of the 1840's were largely confined to being full-time wives and mothers. Very few occupations outside the home were available to them other than becoming governesses or authors. In an 1843 issue of the New Moral World periodical, one article begins:

> The paucity of remunerative and respectable employment for females in this country has often been commented upon. Needlework, authorship, and education constitute almost the only outlets which are open to them in addition to menial service . The low remuneration given to ladies engaged in tuition, has long formed a standing subject alike of indignant censure, and of humorous, but well meant satire. The

> song "Wanted a Governess," in which accomplishments the most varied and exalted are enumerated, and the salary of £20 a year offered for their exercise is unfortunately almost a literal transcript of advertisements for such victims of an overstocked market.[3]

The English Journal of Education for 1845 contained many references on the plight of governesses, and reported with approval the establishment of a Governesses' Benevolent Institution. Not many women became governesses from choice, most did so from necessity. Single women, lacking the ties of home and family, often had no choice but to seek employment to support themselves. Anna Jameson, a nineteenth-century writer, implored her readers to consider the needs of this group:

> How many women are there, who have no home, who are neither wives nor mothers, nor ever will be while they live? Will you deny them the power to carry into a wider sphere the duties of home or must these be utterly crushed; or may they not be expanded and gratified healthily, innocently, usefully.[4]

Governesses were paid a very low salary; it was difficult for them to save money for their old age or for their support when sick, and the work was hard while the social status of being a governess was low.

Becoming an author was not a very accessible alternative or option for most middle-class women. Those who did become 'women of letters' often did so out of need for money. Elizabeth Gaskell, Mary Howitt, and Elizabeth Barret Browning, for example, frequently referred to the financial pressures that fueled their literary activity. The 'profession of letters' was often considered a taboo occupation for women to pursue; perceiving this, the Bronte sisters and George Eliot chose to write under masculine pen names in order that their work be treated seriously. In the introduction to the 1850 edition of Wuthering Heights and Agnes Grey, Charlotte Bronte wrote: " without at the time

suspecting that our mode of writing and thinking was not what is called "feminine" - we had a vague impression that authoresses are liable to be looked on with prejudice."[5] George Eliot, in explaining her particular pseudonym, wrote that "the object of anonymity was to get the book judged on its own merits, and not prejudged as the work of a woman."[6]

Most of the women of the middle class, then, had little choice other than occupying themselves with the running of the home. Queen Victoria, who married Prince Albert in 1840, provided an ideal for the middle-class woman. She was a dutiful wife to Albert and bore him nine children. In a letter written in 1844 to her uncle King Leopold of the Belgians, Queen Victoria wrote:

> They say no sovereign was ever more loved than I am (I am bold enough to say) and this because of our domestic home, the good example it presents.[7]

It was not until the 1860's and 1870's that women in significant numbers began to question the limitations and restrictions on their lives and force changes to occur.

Political developments occuring within the nineteenth-century also affected the women's world. The first thirty years of the nineteenth century were among the most repressive of England's history. England was at war during much of this period, and the government feared revolution, a fear fueled by the example of the American and French revolutions. To combat any possibility of revolution, the British government became very repressive, with continued scandalous misrepresentation of voting districts, and the supression of the working class. Both Charles Dickens and Thomas Carlyle criticized in their writing the British Parliament, complaining that the parliament was 'all words.'

The war was an economic drain on Britain's resources, and the result was widespread depression and unemployment. The workhouses established in England were deliberately made so appalling that one would have to be in dire straits before going there. Politically, as the Industrial Revolution gained strength, the voice of the emerging industrial class had to be recognized. The liberals rose to oppose the aristocratic, conservative attitudes of the pro-agricultural Tories. At the beginning of the nineteenth-century, the liberals advocated free enterprise, individuality, some reform, and they displayed a scepticism of existing institutions. W. J. Reader, in his book entitled Victorian England, suggests that the central principle of middle-class Victorian life was competition.

> They found a society in which most of the best things in life - wealth, property, social position - were conventionally regarded as belonging to those who were 'born to them'. They wanted to substitute for it a society in which those who had the ability might seize the prizes - and then enjoy them under a system of law which would still protect the rights of property.[8]

Competition and the struggle for political rights were limited, primarily, to the men's world of the early-Victorian period. Almost as a reaction or counterbalance to the competitive and rapidly-changing elements occurring in Victorian society overall, was the establishment of a steady, homebound woman's world. Women were told they were to concern themselves with their homes and families and to effect changes through 'moral' rather than political means. The woman's world was appreciated for the ways in which it differed from the rest of the nineteenth-century society - for its non-political nature, its concern for the unfortunate, and its stability. It provided a necessary psychological relief from

the change and fluctuation that abounded in most arenas of the Victorian world.

Because the first years of the nineteenth-century were transitional, Richard Altick argues that the early Victorians were also heirs of the Romantics: Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley and Keats were all alive and writing in the early 1800's. So although rationalism and the intellectual outlook of the Age of Reason were acquiring new authority and influence in the early Victorian period, Romantic ideas and attitudes continued to be manifested, however subtly, in early Victorian society. Altick writes that early Victorian romantic emotionalism could be found

> in the rhetoric of politicians in Parliament and of Nonconformist preachers and hymn writers; in the oratory of radical agitators, in some painter's obsession with epic-scale, even apocalyptic subjects; in the sentimentality which governed domestic relations, the conduct of courtship, the veneration of the fireside; in the unapologetic tears shed by stalwart men when they read of the deaths of Little Nell and Paul Dombey.[9]

John Stuart Mill, in his essay on the thought of Coleridge and Bentham, discussed two traditions of thought that remained significant throughout the nineteenth-century. One tradition, represented by Coleridge, was based on the belief that man can intuitively apprehend fundamental moral truths. This belief in the imagination suggests that this tradition was a continuation of the Romantic legacy. The other tradition was empiricism related to the English Empiricist tradition of the eighteenth century. Empiricism is a movement that argues all knowledge arises from sense experience. It emphasizes logic, pragmatism, and experience rather than intuition, tradition, or appeal to the transcendental. The

most noted nineteenth-century representatives of this tradition were Bentham, and John S. Mill himself.

T. H. White in his book The Age of Scandal suggests that the Victorian era represented a repulsion for the Regency period of George IV, a period of indifference and brutality. To be Victorian, White suggested, was to possess a desire for morality and a certain heroism, because morality involves some fighting for humanity.

The Victorian female was affected by all of these political and intellectual occurrences. The presence of both the traditions of rationalism and romanticism in society affected the Victorians' outlook on the nature of women, as women were expected to somehow combine both romantic and rational elements in the implementation of their duties and obligations. As White suggests, the emphasis on morality also became more pronounced in Victorian England. Nowhere was this more evident than in the assignment of the nation's 'moral keeping' to women.

The political and social conditions for women in the nineteenth-century went hand in hand. Women were told that their influence was not to be felt in the political sphere, but rather in the moral sphere. In the first half of the nineteenth-century, women possessed few legal rights; a wife was entirely subject to the authority of her husband. The legal position of a wife was defined as under Roman law, where the husband had complete rights over his wife. He had control over her property, their children, and, upon marriage, a woman forfeited her own legal existence:

> Everything belonging to the wife at the moment of marriage, chattels and real estate, became, with few exceptions, the husband's property, as well as anything she might acquire later on: annuities, personal income, gifts and emoluments.[10]

Important changes in the wife's status did not come about until 1870, after the passing of the first Married Woman's Property Act.

Particular images or ideologies of women were especially strong in the first half of the nineteenth century. One view, significant also to early Christianity, was the belief that women possessed a weaker, inferior nature. This was the 'woman of Eve' portrayal depicted, for example, in the writing of Mrs. Sandford who wrote in 1831 that such "creatures of instinct" are characterized by "vanity, instability, and lack of judgement."[11] Another prevailing image or impression of woman in the nineteenth century was the idealization of the wife/mother as the source of virtue and purity, "the pillar of the home and priestess of a temple."[12] In the words of a noted Victorian doctor and author, William Acton,

> ...the perfect picture of an English wife and mother, kind considerate, self-sacrificing, so pure-hearted as to be utterly ignorant of and averse to any sensual indulgence, but so unselfishly attached to the man she loves, as to be willing to give up her own wishes and feelings for his sake.[13]

Neither image helped to convince nineteenth-century society that women should be allowed to participate in the political decision-making arena. Although there were some voices raised in protest over the position of women in society, feminism in the early Victorian era was quite limited. It was not until the 1860's and onwards that the woman's movement gained momentum.[14] By 1847, the first restriction on working hours for women was in existence, and in 1857 the new divorce law was passed. In 1866 the first woman's suffrage society was set up, and in Parliament John Stuart Mill was attempting to open the door to votes for women. Mill was elected to Parliament in 1865, and by 1869 he had published his

book The Subjection of Women, a text in which he argues his complete belief in the equality of men and women and the right of women to have political equality with men. The Education Act of 1870 allowed women to sit on School Boards and by the 1890's, two large urban Boards had female chairmen. An act of 1891 allowed women to be elected to local Parish Councils and on to Boards of Guardians. The real thrust of the women's movement was just beginning as nearly three-quarters of the nineteenth century had passed. The last quarter of the nineteenth century, and the beginning years of the twentieth century saw women increasingly demanding emancipation in their political and sexual roles.[15]

Also significant to an understanding of nineteenth-century British society and the world of women is an appreciation of the great interest in religion that existed throughout this century. Kitson Clark, author of The Making of Victorian England, said of the nineteenth century in England,

> Probably in no other century; except the seventeenth and perhaps the twelfth, did the claims of religion occupy so large a part in the nation's life, or did men speaking in the name of religion contrive to exercise so much power.[16]

The typical Victorian was raised in a home that adhered to the teachings of some religious body and the church that the majority of Victorian English belonged to was the Church of England. A new enthusiasm for the Church of England began just before Victoria's reign, and "reached its full flowering" in the 1850's.[17] Those religious denominations which refused to conform to the Church of England doctrines were labeled 'Nonconformists' or Dissenters'; the major dissenting bodies being the Unitarians, Congregationalists or Independents, Wesleyans, and the Baptists. In the nineteenth century the conformists combined with a

portion of the Anglican Church (the Low Church) to form the Evangelical movement. The High Church, Evangelicals, and the Broad Church all had their roots in earlier centuries.

The larger Evangelical movement of the nineteenth century was a particularly significant religious influence from the 1790's to 1830's. Evangelicalism was concerned with the way men should live, regarding salvation as the goal of earthly action. The Bible was interpreted literally, and salvation could be achieved by conversion and submitting one's will to God. Richard Altick suggests that Evangelicalism was important in the English nineteenth century "for the moral tone it lent society."[18] The moral standards and principles maintained by the Evangelicals often came to represent Victorian middle-class values. Sunday worship, temperance, chastity, respectability and the work ethic were all causes advocated by the Evangelicals, and associated also with middle-class morality. As Altick writes, "Some of its [Evangelicalism] characteristic moral standards, tastes, and avoidances are current today, though with ever-diminishing strength, as vestiges of what is popularly called Victorianism."[19]

Religious developments and controversies continued to abound in the nineteenth century. As well as the Evangelical and Low Church movements, there existed the High Church and Broad Church. The High Church was associated with the ritualistic portion of the Anglican Church, while the Broad Church was characterized by a "moderate skepticism and indifference to sharply defined dogma and prescribed forms."[20] In the 1830's and early 1840's, the Oxford movement came to the forefront of English religious development. The effects the Oxford movement had on religious development in the nineteenth century were varied, but Altick

writes that

> the most tragic effect of the Oxford Movement was that it led some of the epoch's most brilliant intellects to focus upon a remote past at a time when they should have been preparing their religion for an imminent and crucial future.[21]

The "crucial future" Atlick mentions revolved around the controversy surrounding the developments of science and the resulting conflict with the teachings of the Church in the middle to late nineteenth century.

In the 1830's and 1840's geologists began to introduce evolutionary ideas to explain the age and development of the earth, thereby questioning the validity of the creation account rendered in Genesis. In 1859 Charles Darwin published his On The Origin of Species, detailing with greater evidence the theory of evolution and its application to biological life. To a populace already experiencing doubts about their religious teachings, Darwin's publication served to greatly increase the Victorians' crisis of faith. The Darwinian hypothesis of natural selection implied that evolution was not progress, it was simply change and man was as subject to the laws of nature as any other animal. The Judaeo-Christian view of man that recognized man as God's special creation, above all other creatures on earth, was undermined by Darwin's explanations.[22] Darwin's theory of evolution also rendered the literal truth of the bible improbable. The later Victorians had to come to terms with their crisis of faith, adjusting their view of the world to accomodate answers to questions that had not been raised before. For the early Victorians growing up in the first part of the nineteenth century it was easier, perhaps, to maintain religious belief and feel secure in the answers it provided. As Duncas Crow writes:

> Religion supplied so much - not only an object of reverence and affection, but it gave a sense of purpose and the answer to unanswerable questions. Together with filial obedience and patriotism it gave a reason for death and suffering, for ambition, success, for life itself.[23]

Religious belief was often particularly significant for women. Writers such as Mrs. Ellis charged women with the duty of seeing that all of the 'others' in their lives - husbands, brothers, children, acquaintances, etc. were introduced to religious principle and faith. The Bible was referred to by many for answers on questions about the status and character of women, and a woman's sphere of duty was, in fact, often a religious one. Moral teaching by example, charity work, and service to others were all areas to be undertaken by women. For many women, particularly in the early Victorian period, religious belief no doubt did provide them with a reason and meaning for their existence. Interestingly, as the century progressed and doubts about established religious tenet were expressed, accompanying doubts and questions were also being raised about the woman's position in that same society.

Developments (or the lack thereof) in education also strongly influenced the world of the nineteenth-century woman. The secondary-school education girls received in the early Victorian period was, in the words of the Schools Inquiry Commission of 1864-68 fragmentary, multifarious, disconnected; taught not scientifically as a subject, but merely as so much information, and hence, like a wall of stones without mortar, it fell to pieces."[24] Josephine Kamm, in her book on British women's education entitled Hope Deferred, describes the education middle class girls received between 1800 and 1850 as "education at its lowest ebb."[25] Girls were ignorant of domestic affairs, and their education

consisted largely of training in the polite accomplishments. Girls were taught to be young ladies, to become skilled in 'elaborate female delicacy.' They were trained in the arts of conservation, time-filling accomplishments, and etiquette. The purpose of their education was to enable the girls to find a husband; they were brought up, educated, and trained for marriage. Considering the consequences of remaining single in early Victorian society, it would seem attracting a husband was necessary to the female interested in securing her place and fulfilling her role obligations in society. As Harriet Martineau expressed it:

> the sum and substance of female education in America, as in England, is training women to consider marriage as the sole object in life, and to pretend that they do not think so.[26]

It was not until 1848 that Queen's College for women opened, and not until the passing of the Endowed Schools Act in 1869 that the state first acknowledged the claim of females to a liberal education.[27] Women wanted improved teacher training facilities, a more rigorous intellectual training for girls, and larger endowments made available to girls' schools. After the passing of the Education Act of 1870, school attendance up to ten years old was made compulsory in 1880. In 1891 school fees were abolished in most schools, but it was not until 1918 that all fees were abolished in elementary schools and full time attendance required to the age of fourteen.[28] The growth of secondary schooling for women also had a slow process of development. What secondary education did exist for women was criticized for its lack of central authority, the lack of uniformity in the curricula taught at the various schools, and the difficulty involved in transferring from an elementary school to a secondary school. The two largest and most

influential of Britain's universities, Oxford and Cambridge, did not admit women to degrees on equal terms with men until 1920 and 1948 respectively. Consequently, the women in the mid-Victorian period were very much tied to their homes, legally dependent upon their husbands, and minimally educated in either intellectual of domestic subjects.

Although the quality of education, particularly for women, was not always high, literacy rates rose as a greater proportion of the population in the nineteenth century gained access to schooling. The national literacy rate for adults, based on the ability to write one's name in the marriage registry, rose from 67 percent (male) and 51 percent (female) in 1841 to approximately 97 percent for both sexes in 1900.[29] These figures exaggerate the percentage of literacy among the population because many people could not read despite their ability to write their own names. Raymond Williams warns against placing too much importance on the effects of increasing public education. Commenting on the thesis that a literate mass-public came into being after the Education Act of 1870, Williams writes:

> 1870 is in fact very questionable as a decisive date. There had been widespread literacy much earlier than this, the bad popular press is in fact also earlier. The result of the new educational provision was in part an actual increase in literacy, in part an evening-up between the fortunate and the unfortunate. The increase is certainly large enough to be important, but it was no kind of sudden opening of the flood gates.[30]

The gradual improvement in working conditions after the middle of the century helped the spread of reading among the working class. For themselves, the working class produced radical newspapers, political pamphlets and publicity, trade-union banners and designs. However,

Raymond Williams suggests that a large proportion of the reading material read by the working class was actually produced for them by others, often for political or commercial advantage. This type of reading material was usually devoid of literary and historical allusions, containing instead "a running supply of excitements, brief and to the point, and sentences and paragraphs to match."[31] For these readers, writes Richard Altick, were published such items as the 'penny dreadfuls' and 'shilling shockers', cheap weeklies featuring serialized thrilling fiction, sentimental stories, condensations of standard literature, and cheap Sunday newspapers reporting events such as fires, murders, and extensive police reports.[32] Williams makes the point that many more levels of culture had been brought within the general context of literacy, and tastes which had formerly been gratified in pre-literate ways were "now catered for and even fostered in print."[33]

The largest reading public in the Victorian period was concentrated in the middle class. This does not imply that they were a cohesive, homogeneous unit, for the middle-class market for print was divided into many interest groups. Fiction and novels were very popular as was 'inspirational' or religious literature, and also literature of information. Richard Altick describes the Victorian period as containing a much larger audience for serious writing than in our present period; a large number of Victorian readers supported 'quality' magazines and reviews and made it possible for commercial firms to publish books that would today be published by university presses. Technological advances made the printed word cheaper and more accessible; the steam press, the stereotyping process, new papermaking machinery and the adoption of cheaper ingredients as well as the later development of mechanized type

setting enabled the mass production of books, newspapers, and periodicals.[34]

The Victorian era was a great age for the periodical. According to recent estimates the number of journals published in the years 1824 through 1900 exceeds fifty thousand.[35] Many of these journals had short lifespans, but others ran for decades. The nineteenth-century periodicals were often edited and written by some of the era's leading authors and many journals enjoyed a large circulation. They were often partisan and opinionated but many of the periodicals were distinguished by lively writing, topical articles, true narratives, satirical essays, and short and serialized fiction. As with other forms of nineteenth-century reading material, the periodicals became specialized according to class and interest-related concerns. The periodicals were often published for a specific reading audience and as the nineteenth century progressed the diversity of the periodical press expanded. Some of the types of periodicals printed included: literary periodicals, art periodicals, children's periodicals, humour-based periodicals, temperance periodicals, religious periodicals, and of special significance to the present study, women's periodicals.

In her general history of women's periodicals, Cynthia White describes the women's magazines of the early decade of the nineteenth century as continuing, like those of the eighteenth century, to be "frank, vigorous and mentally stimulating, representing a cross-section of feminine (and often masculine) opinion, and reflecting a broad spectrum of interests and activities."[36] However, by 1825 significant changes in the content and tone of women's magazines had occurred. Attitudes to women had undergone considerable modification since 1800, and the view of the role and status proper to women had become much narrower.[37]

After approximately 1825, the women's magazines replaced their broad-based formula and intellectual approach with formats meant to amuse and entertain. The themes which began to dominate these magazines revolved around the importance of propriety and taste, fashions and dress, and ways of enhancing one's personal beauty. The women's magazine of the mid-century increasingly began to promote the Victorian ideal of "exalted, self-effacing womanhood." The home and the family were glorified and women were encouraged by the editors of the magazines to be dutiful and virtuous young wives and mothers. The magazines took on a highly moral tone and continued the trend away from topical and intellectual contributions.

Magazines published after the middle of the century were cheaper to buy and were therefore affordable for women of the middle classes. The customary price for a monthly had previously been one shilling, but in 1852, a woman's monthly was issued at a cost of two pence. Topics that would interest the middle-class woman, such as domestic management articles, romantic fiction and needlework, comprised the bulk of the magazines. The leading periodicals for women generally avoided the subject of women's rights and White writes that no periodical which espoused the woman's cause survived for more than a year or two.

> The campaign to extend women's rights consistently failed to win prominence in the women's press. The women's magazines continued to reinforce the status quo, and adhered to a restricted formula.[38]

The magazines for women published in the third quarter of the century were generally even lighter and gayer than their predecessors. However, as the century progressed the magazines began to develop a 'social conscience,' devoting space to seeking solutions to a variety of problems.

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, a virtual 'explosion' in the publication of women's periodicals occurred. The publishing industry as a whole was expanding due to the social, economic, and technological changes that were occurring in this period. As a way of financing the production of their publications, the editors of women's magazines increasingly accepted advertisements as a means of increasing revenue. The number of women's periodicals being published doubled between the years of 1875 and 1900. A number of these later magazines were designed to cater to a specific 'sub-culture' of women, rather than trying to appeal to the entire sex. There was a magazine for 'women of education,' one for housewives, magazines for the unmarried working woman, and the 'penny dreadfuls' for the working-class women. Magazines were brought out for girls and younger women, as well as for older women or matrons. The magazines for housewives became especially popular, accompanying such social conditions as servant shortages, soaring prices, and rising standards in respect to nutrition, hygiene, and childcare. The housewife's tasks demanded a lot from women, and the magazines were there to offer advice and assistance.[39]

E. M. Palmegiano, who compiled a bibliography on women and British periodicals from 1832 to 1867, looked at articles about women in both women's periodicals and the more general Victorian periodicals that catered to a wider reading audience. Palmegiano found that in the periodicals, views about females were not homogeneous:

> By and large, beliefs about the female varied not only from magazine to magazine, but from issue to issue. The contradictions which frequently resulted may be an indication of uncertainty, a sign that Victorians, though unwilling to concede that the world was also woman's, were at least prepared to reconsider her position in it.[40]

Palmegiano did find, however, that most of the periodicals had a limited mode of speaking about women. The female was usually defined in one of the following ways: by function, as sex object, sinner, redeemer, mother, wife, worker, spinster; by qualities, good and bad; or by differentiation, contrasted with men and non-English women. Palmegiano concludes that

> the female was regarded, both in the gender and general magazines, as educable by either men or women in the art of leading her life whether it be in a traditional or new style. Put another way, the majority of authors inferred that they knew better than most women what constituted womanhood and how best to express it. This implicit desire to train the sex may be more significant than anything that was actually written about it. For this methodology certifies that the female was recognized as a valuable social element, else why would the efficient Victorians waste time and energy on her?[41]

The nineteenth century was a century in which change, controversy, and fluctuation abounded. The Industrial Revolution profoundly changed peoples' lives and created havoc in the accepted ways of living. The rapid acceleration of science and technology in the period called into question a great number of beliefs about man's view of his world: a concern with progress, improvement, democracy, freedom, society and the individual, and education was strongly reflected in the thought and writings of the period. The woman's world of the nineteenth century was shaped by the economic, political, social, religious, and educational developments occuring in the century. The middle-class woman's role was confined largely to her home and family as a result of economic changes in the society; her 'influence' was to be expressed through means other than political, and a woman's importance to society was often

measured by her accomplished 'good works'. However, seldom did anything remain static in the century, and this was certainly true with regard to the world of women. As the century progressed, the views of women and their world were continually, however subtly, being reshaped and redefined. It was into this world then, and towards the beginning of the nineteenth century, that Sarah Stickney Ellis was born.

(2) Biography of Mrs. Ellis

Mrs. Ellis has not yet been the subject of any substantial biographical study, and the mention Mrs. Ellis does receive in a few biographical reference books is primarily because she was the wife of William Ellis, a London born missionary noted for his work in the South Sea Islands.

Mrs. Ellis was born Sarah Stickney at the beginning of the nineteenth century, growing up in a transitional period as the Georgian era dissolved into the Victorian. In her book The Mothers of England, Mrs. Ellis tells her readers that she grew up without a mother: "for to me the precious link [between a mother and her child] was broken before I felt its power, or could experience its worth."[42] Sarah Stickney had been brought up a member of the Society of Friends, but while still a young woman, found she was unable to accept all their rules and principles. She left the Quakers, and became a member of the Congregational Church. Little else is know about her youth, except that she enjoyed art and studied it in theory and practice.

In 1833, just one year after the signing of the First Reform Bill, Sarah Stickney published her first written work. This material, a three part series entitled Pictures of Private Life was a fictional narrative, containing within the story many lessons of morality and manners. It was Sarah Stickney's intent, with this book and the later

books she wrote under her married name, to teach rather than merely entertain. As Mrs. Ellis explained in her preface to Family Secrets or Hints to Those who Would Make Home Happy, published in 1841:

> If the occupation of writing books were simply an amusement, how pleasant might the task be made, by dwelling only upon popular or pleasing themes - by describing human life as a scene of unclouded sunshine, and human nature as exempt from sorrow and from sin!
>
> But when the office of a writer is undertaken as a duty, rather than a pleasure, the case assumes a widely different aspect. Human life must then be described, not as it might be, but as it is; in order than truth may be recognized under the garb of fiction; and that error of opinion may thus be traced out to its inevitable consequence - error of conduct.[43]

In 1837, the same year that the eighteen-year-old Victorian became Queen of England, Sarah Stickney married the Reverend William Ellis. Reverend Ellis was a well-known missionary who, previous to his marriage to Sarah Stickney, had ministered in South Africa and the South Sea Islands. In 1830 he was appointed assistant foreign secretary to the London Missionary Society, and was eventually appointed chief foreign secretary. His first wife, Mary Mercy Ellis died in 1835. After their marriage in 1837, Reverend Ellis and the second Mrs. Ellis remained active in the missionary society, Mr. Ellis making four trips to the mission fields of Madagascar in the years following his marriage to Sarah Stickney. The Ellis's were also noted for their zeal in the temperance movement; the 1908 Dictionary of National Biography notes that with the Ellis's, "this cause took a very practical form, several persons given to drunkeness being taken in hand and encouraged by every contrivance of affectionate solicitude to turn from their evil ways."[44]

Religion played an important role in Mrs. Ellis's life. As mentioned, she left the Quakers to join the Congregational Church, and married a

noted missionary and Congregationalist pastor, becoming involved with her husband's mission work. In all of her books, Mrs. Ellis made reference to the importance of religion, and in her books on the women, wives, daughters, and mothers of England, she emphasized the need for women to develop their own Christian character by coming under the influence of "religious principle." As Mrs. Ellis further explained:

> Much as I have said of the influences of the domestic habits of my countrywomen, it is, after all, to the prevalence of religious instruction, and the operation of religious principle upon the heart, that the consistent maintenance of their high tone or moral character is to be attributed.[45]

The Ellis's belonged to the Congregationalist church, a church that G. M. Young in his book Portrait of an Age, described as representing "traditional middle-class Puritanism."[46] The Congregationalists were the direct descendants of early English puritanism, and were particularly strong among the middle classes. Their teachings emphasized self-help and self-reliance; each congregation was an independent body who chose its own pastor, ran its own affairs, and decided its own doctrine. Their church services were often very intense and personal, with the pastor allowed much freedom of expression in his sermon. The influence of Mrs. Ellis's evangelical religious training can be viewed in the advice and recommended etiquette she gave to the readers of her books. The Ellis's active involvement with religion can be viewed as belonging to and being a part of the great interest in religion that existed in the nineteenth century.

In 1840 the Ellis's journeyed to Pau on the Continent, where they stayed for fifteen months. Reverend Ellis went to Pau with the hope that his 'weak condition' would improve in a sunnier climate. The Ellis's

returned to England in 1841, and moved to a country house at Rose Hill, Hoddesdon, Hertfordshire. In 1847 Reverend Ellis was appointed pastor of a small congregational church at Hoddesdon, and Mrs. Ellis established and became superintendent of a school for young ladies. Her school was named Rawdon House, and in a pamphlet entitled "Rawdon House" Mrs. Ellis described the method and purpose of the educational training dispensed at her school. Her object, she explained, was to apply the principles illustrated in her books (The Women of England series) "to the moral training, the formation of character, and in some degree the domestic duties of young ladies."[47]

It was in the late 1830's and early 1840's that Mrs. Ellis wrote and published her more important works - including the well known Women of England series. There were four books in this series, these being: The Women of England, published in 1839, The Daughters of England, published in 1842, The Wives of England, published in 1843, and The Mothers of England, published in 1845. These advice books were addressed to the women of the middle classes, a potential readership that continued to increase as the century progressed. The books were written with the intention of assisting middle-class females in understanding the duties involved in their roles as the daughters, wives and mothers of England. In her first book of the series, The Women of England, Mrs. Ellis concentrated on describing the "elements of female character" while in the following three volumes her aim was to dwell "more exclusively upon the sphere of action in which those elements are combined and displayed." The last three volumes of the series contain more advice and less description. For Mrs. Ellis, the order her books were written in suggested the natural progression a female made in Victorian society, from daughter,

to wife, to mother. Mrs. Ellis felt it was essential that a female fully appreciate all that was involved with one role, before attempting to assume the duties and responsibilities of another. In her preface to her third volume, The Wives of England, Mrs. Ellis explained.

> Indeed the whole of the Daughters of England might with justice be regarded as an introduction to the Wives, just in the same proportion as the occupations and attainments of early life are preparations for a state of existence, in which we have less opportunity for learning, than necessity for acting upon what has already been attained.[48]

In her lifetime, Mrs. Ellis wrote upwards of thirty works on a number of topics. Her husband, Reverend Ellis also wrote and published several books on subjects related mostly to his missionary experience, as well as writing a history of the London Missionary Society.

Mrs. Ellis also became involved with periodical literature. Besides contributing several articles for publication in various periodicals, she was editor of two periodicals: The Morning Call and the Juvenile Scrap-Book. The Juvenile Scrapbook was an annual for children published from 1836 to 1850. Mrs. Ellis took over the editorship of the magazine in 1840 and later confessed that she had forgotten that the object of the work was to amuse. Percy Muir, in his book Victorian Illustrated Books, wrote about Mrs. Ellis that

> she comforted herself with the reflection that it is 'quite a pleasure' to be prevailed upon to think! She therefore illustrated and wrote about views of Birker Force in Cumberland, camel drivers looking at the town of Sidon, and Worms Cathedral, with variations in a deathbed scene and the practice of infanticide in Bengal. This sort of monstrosity cost eight shillings and must have darkened many a Christmas morning.[49]

Mrs. Ellis's Morning Call was a monthly magazine published from 1850 to 1852. It was described in its sub-title as a "Table Book of Literature

and Art." In 1845 Mrs. Ellis also published a work intended for use in girl's schools, entitled Young Ladies Reader. In this volume, Mrs. Ellis emphasized the importance of young ladies learning the art of reading aloud and reading well. As she further explained:

> The art of reading aloud and reading well is thus entitled to our serious consideration, inasmuch as it may be made a highly influential means of imparting a zest and an interest to domestic associations; and of investing with the charm of perpetual freshness the conversation of the family circle, the intercourse of friendship, and the communion of "mutual minds".[50]

In June of 1872, Sarah Stickney Ellis died, having outlived her husband by only a few days. Her lifetime spanned almost three-quarters of the nineteenth century; a period of much change and development. Mrs. Ellis's literary career was varied, enduring, and popular. She was very much a representative of her time, her thoughts and writings shaped by the religious, social, and cultural milieu of early Victorian England.

(3) Comments on Mrs. Ellis's Life and Work

Mrs. Ellis was a very prolific writer, and also a very popular writer. Her advice books were addressed quite strictly to women of the middle class, and they were widely read by these women. In the introduction to her work entitled Women of England, Mrs. Ellis defined her readership as being those women

> who belong to that great mass of the population of England which is connected with the trade and manufacture, as well as the wives and daughters of professional men of limited incomes, or, in order to make the application more direct, to that portion of it who are restricted to the service of from one to four domestics - who, on the one hand, enjoy the advantages of a liberal education and, on the other, have no pretensions to family rank.[51]

Mrs. Ellis's description of her reading audience suggests, in fact, that she was writing to all levels of the middle-classes. 'Middle-class' is a vague term, and was used in reference to a large portion of British nineteenth-century society. As Kitson Clark wrote in The Making of Victorian England,

> 'Who precisely were the middle-class?' Presumably they were all the people who at any given moment came in income, or in social estimation, between the nobility and landed gentry on the one hand and the manual labourers on a weekly or daily wage on the other. If so, the bracket is a wide one.[52]

Mrs. Ellis, then, in describing her readership as the 'middle-classes,' was writing to a potentially very large and varied group.

This same book, The Women of England, attests to the popularity of Mrs. Ellis's writing. It went through sixteen editions in its first two years and was republished again in 1843, 1844, and 1846.[53] One reference book cites a calculation that suggests that Mrs. Ellis's potential readership might have included up to one quarter of the female population of England.[54] Further attesting to the popularity of Mrs. Ellis's book were the numerous notices and reviews her books received in the leading periodicals of the day. The Westminster Review, Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, the Quarterly Review, and the Eclectic Review were only some of the many periodicals that reviewed Mrs. Ellis's works, particularly those of her books in the 'Women of England' series. Most of the reviews were highly favourable towards Mrs. Ellis and her books, praising the advice and instruction contained within them. In an 1842 issue of the Eclectic Review, for example, the writer began a review of Mrs. Ellis's The Wives of England by asserting,

> Her 'Women of England', 'Daughters of England', and 'Wives of England', have been precious boons to her own sex, and, through that, to the other . We yet can conscientiously aver that no works within our knowledge are equally calculated to interest by their cheerful, pleasant composition, and to instruct by their sagacious, honest counsels, those for whom they are designed.[55]

In concluding his review, the author of it wrote:

> 'A wife' is a 'good thing' and we may add with equal certainty that whatever tends to improve a wife is a good thing, and for this reason we hope our readers will soon obtain and earnestly read the 'Wives of England'.[56]

A review of The Wives of England that appeared in Tait's Edinburgh Magazine referred to Mrs. Ellis as "fresh and pithy" and went on to say that

> Mrs. Ellis as an instructor of women in the varied duties of life, ought to be an especial favourite with the "nobler sex", to which she never fails to ascribe all fitting honour, and intellectual and social supremacy .[57]

In a different issue of this same magazine, the reviewer of Mrs. Ellis's The Daughters of England wrote that if "the daughters of England study her precepts, and follow her counsels, they will be in the fair way to attain high moral excellence, and many useful acquirements and amiable qualities."[58] In an issue of the 1842 Eclectic Review, the reviewer commented that for most writers three books on a similar subject would be too much. This was not true, however, for Mrs. Ellis.

> There are many authors, and popular ones too; whose announcement of an intention to issue three volumes upon one subject, or upon many, would have filled us with consternation and dismay, for critics possess their measure of the common feelings of humanity, and they often suffer at the hands of authors as hard a lot as they inflict. But in the case of Mrs. Ellis we hail the prospect of her continued efforts to raise the moral tone and correct the social errors of her sex. Her works must exert a most important influence in teaching its true function, and developing its proper and peculiar powers.[59]

Favourable reviews of Mrs. Ellis's works also appeared in the numerous periodicals for women. A review of The Wives of England, appearing in the New Monthly Belle Assemblee, a popular woman's magazine, declared that the subject of the book was "delightfully and instructively treated," and, the reviewer for this magazine added that "we know of no more becoming gift."[60]

Those who criticized Mrs. Ellis were usually in agreement with the main principles expounded in her books. The Westminster Review of 1841 published a review of Mrs. Ellis's Women of England, and found much in the book that was "highly deserving of study." This particular reviewer's major criticism of the book was focussed on the exalting Mrs. Ellis did of the character of English women over that of all the other women in the world. "With all respect for English 'homes and hearths'," writes the reviewer, "we think this national exaltation is neither fair to our neighbours nor advantageous for ourselves."[61]

Similarly, the Quarterly Review gave their 'Welcome' to Mrs. Ellis's books, but found they could not accept completely all that she wrote. "We truly confess," wrote the reviewer, "that we look at works written by women upon the science of domestic government with a kind of good-humoured suspicion." Although criticizing the 'sermon-like' writing of Mrs. Ellis, the reviewer's major complaint about Mrs. Ellis's book, and of other similar books written 'by women on women', was their fault of "laying on tender shoulders too heavy a load of duties."

> When we read of so much bitter toil long-enduring and never repaid - so much of heavenly patience, and sweet resignation, we are truly rejoiced to look up from the piteous page, and gladly remind ourselves that after all this is only a piece of advice and that there never has really been seen so much of suffering virtue.[62]

The Quarterly Review's advice to all givers of advice like Mrs. Ellis was to "abandon that habit of being eternally hierophantic."[63]

The criticisms of Mrs. Ellis's works then, were all fairly minor criticisms; most of the reviewers had something positive to say about the books and in general, agreed with most of what Mrs. Ellis wrote. Punch magazine did frequently poke fun at Mrs. Ellis, and Thackeray, in The Book of Snobs, having given an account of the articles that appeared in the daily papers describing the court dresses of Lady Snobby and her daughters, wrote

> Oh, Mrs. Ellis! O mothers, daughters, aunts grandmothers of England, this is the sort of writing which is put in the newspapers for you. How can you help being mothers, daughters, etc. of snobs so long as this balderdash is set before you.[64]

But as Amy Cruse points out in her book The Victorians and Their Reading, Thackeray's Amelia was brought up on the advice of Mrs. Ellis, as were a number more of the "sweet and docile heroines of Victorian fiction."[65]

Clearly then, as a widely-read writer of advice books for women in the early-Victorian period, Mrs. Ellis has significance for the present-day scholar interested in becoming acquainted with a representative body of opinion of early to mid-nineteenth-century England. It was often the advice-book writers of this period, both male and female, who sought to set out and define the duties of the women of the Victorian family. In a whimsical article appearing in an 1844 volume of Blackwood's Magazine, the writer commented on the 'innundation' of books on the market addressed to women, making particular reference to the titles of Mrs. Ellis's books:

> You, dear Editor, who have your eyes garnished with Solomon's spectacles about you, cannot but have perceived on the parlour-tables and

> book-shelves of your fair friends...a sudden innundation of tabby-bound volumes, addressed, in super gilt letters, to the 'Wives of England' - the 'Daughters of England' - the 'Grandmothers of England'. A few, arrayed in modest calf or embossed linen, address themselves to the sober latitudes of the manse or parsonage-house. Some treat, without permission, of 'Woman's Mission' - some, in defiance of custom, of her 'Duties'. From exuberant 4to, down to the fid-fad concentration of 12 mo - from crown demy to diamond editions - no end to these chartered documentations of the sex![66]

In attempting to assess the popular image of women subscribed to by Victorians themselves, it is useful to begin with an appreciation of her image as it was seen by a popular author such as Mrs. Ellis. As Joseph and Olive Banks write, the writers of such books for women, "clearly reflect what members of their class believed she ought to do and be, even if individual middle-class women did not always match precept with practice." [67]

In the following chapter, the writing of Sarah Stickney Ellis will be studied, with particular attention being given to the early Victorian middle-class woman.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER TWO

[1] Richard D. Altick, Victorian People and Ideas (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1973), p. 50.

[2] Duncan Crow, The Victorian Woman (London: George Allen Unwin Ltd., 1971), p. 95.

[3] "Occupations for Females," The New Moral World, (1843-1844), p. 246.

[4] Harriet Warm Schupf, "Single Women and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century England: The Case of Mary Carpenter," Victorian Studies, (March, 1974), p. 301.

[5] Quoted in Francoise Basch, Relative Creatures (London: Allen Lane, 1974), p. 108.

[6] Quoted Ibid., p. 108.

[7] Quoted in Crow, The Victorian Woman, p. 51.

[8] W. J. Reader, Victorian England (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd.), p. 146.

[9] Altick, Victorian People and Ideas, p. 7.

[10] Basch, Relative Creatures, p. 15.

[11] Quoted Ibid., p. 4.

[12] Jenni Calder, The Victorian Home (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1953), p. 126.

[13] Quoted Ibid., p. 4.

[14] Crow, The Victorian Woman, p. 184.

[15] Basch, Relative Creatures, p. 15.

[16] Quoted in Altick, Victorian People and Ideas, p. 203.

[17] Crow, The Victorian Woman, p. 59.

[18] Altick, Victorian People and Ideas, p. 167.

[19] Ibid., p. 168.

[20] Ibid., p. 207.

[21] Ibid., p. 219.

[22] Ibid., p. 228.

[23] Crow, The Victorian Woman, p. 59.

[24] Quoted Ibid., p. 150.

[25] Josephine Kamm, Hope Deferred (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1965), p. 166.

[26] Quoted in Crow, The Victorian Woman, p. 63.

[27] Kamm, Hope Deferred, pp. 173 & 212.

[28] K. B. Smellie, Great Britain Since 1688 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1962), p. 248.

[29] Altick, Victorian People and Ideas, p. 60.

[30] Raymond Williams, Culture and Society 1780-1950 (England: Penguin Books, 1958), p. 295.

[31] Altick, Victorian People and Ideas, p. 61.

[32] Ibid., p. 62.

[33] Williams, Culture and Society 1780-1950, p. 295.

[34] Altick, Victorian People and Ideas, p. 61.

[35] Ibid., p. 66.

[36] Cynthia White, Women's Magazines 1693-1968 (London: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1970), p. 38.

[37] Ibid., p. 38.

[38] Ibid., p. 49.

[39] In the period from 1885 to 1910 women's magazines continued to be class-bound and focused on noncontroversial subjects. As Cynthia White writes, they "were content to be trend-followers, rather than trend setters." Cynthia White, Women's Magazines 1693-1968, p. 90.

[40] Palmegiano, "Women and British Periodicals," p. 5.

[41] Ibid., p. 5.

[42] Sarah Stickney Ellis, The Mothers of England (London: Peter Jackson, 1845), p. 59.

[43] Sarah Stickney Ellis, Family Secrets or Hints to Those Who Would Make Home Happy (London: Fisher, Son and Co., 1841), introduction.

[44] Dictionary of National Biography, ed. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (London: Smith, Elder, & Co.), 6 (1908), pp. 714-715.

[45] Sarah Stickney Ellis, The Women of England (London: Fisher, Son and Co., 1839), p. 36.

[46] G. M. Young, Portrait of an Age (Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 57.

[47] "Illustrious Women of our Time," Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book, (1840), p. 453.

[48] Sarah Stickney Ellis, The Wives of England (London: Peter Jackson, 1843), p. vi.

[49] Percy Muir, Victorian Illustrated Books (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1971), p. 19.

[50] "Illustrious Women of our Time," Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book, p. 455.

[51] Ellis, The Women of England, p. 19.

[52] G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian England (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1962), p. 5.

[53] Crow, The Victorian Woman, p. 48.

[54] Ibid., p. 48.

[55] The Eclectic Review, (1843), p. 691.

[56] Ibid., p. 697.

[57] Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, 9 (1843), p. 265.

[58] Ibid., p. 265.

[59] "Woman - Her Social Position and Duties," The Eclectic Review, 12 (1842), p. 527.

[60] "Our Boudoir Table," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 19 (1843), p. 55.

[61] "Women of England," Westminster Review, 35 (1841), p. 32.

[62] "The Rights of Women," The Quarterly Review, 75 (1844-1845), p. 119.

[63] Ibid., p. 119.

[64] Quoted in Cruse, The Victorians and Their Reading, p. 340.

[65] Ibid., p. 340.

[66] "A Bewailment From Bath," Blackwoods Magazine, 55 (1844), p. 199.

[67] J. A. and Olive Banks, Feminism and Family Planning in Victorian England (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1964), p. 58.

CHAPTER 3

MRS. ELLIS AND THE IMAGE OF WOMAN

> Woman, whose whole life, from the cradle to the grave, is one of feeling rather than of action; whose highest duty is so often to suffer and be still; whose deepest enjoyments are all relative; who has nothing, and is nothing, of herself; whose experience, if unparticipated is a total blank; yet, whose whole world of interest is wide as the realm of humanity .[1]

Thus wrote Sarah Stickney Ellis in her book The Daughters of England, the second book in the four-volume 'Women of England' series written during the late 1830's and early 1840's. Although Mrs. Ellis wrote a number of books during her lifetime, it was in the four books that compose the 'Women of England' series that she discussed directly the duties, characteristics, and the image of the middle-class Victorian woman, as she perceived these to be. The excerpt quoted above might easily serve as a statement of theme for Mrs. Ellis's 'Women of England' series. Women were regarded by Mrs. Ellis as 'relative creatures' whose lives were bounded by duty and service to humanity. In order to outline as fully as possible Mrs. Ellis's image of the middle-class woman of her period, the categories of women as (1) daughters/sisters, (2) wives, (3) mothers and (4) spinsters, will be presented. These first three categories were the categories Mrs. Ellis herself used when writing to and about the women of England, the titles of three of her books being The Daughters of England, The Wives of England, and The Mothers of England. The other title in the series is the Women of England, and in this volume Mrs. Ellis wrote generally about all the above-mentioned categories. The significance of these particular categories was that the women were defined according to their relationship

to others, and especially to men. And, of course, the choice of these particular categories indicates the importance Mrs. Ellis attached to the institution of the family.

The four books in the 'Women of England' series were addressed to the women of the middle-classes of England, a class of women that Mrs. Ellis felt needed particular help in steering a course, as Duncan Crow writes, "between observing gentility and giving oneself false airs."[2] As Mrs. Ellis wrote:

> The highest aim of the writer does not extend beyond the act of warning the women of England back to their domestic duties, in order that they may become better wives, more useful daughters and mothers, who by their example shall bequeath a rich inheritance to those who follow in their steps.[3]

In her first book of the series, The Women of England, Mrs. Ellis concentrated on describing "the elements of female character," while in the following three volumes her aim was to dwell "more exclusively upon the sphere of action in which those elements are combined and displayed."[4] The last three volumes of the series contain more advice and less description, although each of the books possesses a mixture of explicitly stated rules for women to abide by, more general discussions of female duties and responsibilities, and brief sermon-like passages containing moral messages. In Mrs. Ellis's books, writes Crow, "it was necessary for the reader to disentangle the exact practice of daily life from the general moralistic wadding."[5] For Mrs. Ellis, the order in which her books were written suggested the natural progression a female made in Victorian society-from daughter, to wife, to mother. Mrs. Ellis felt it was essential that a female fully appreciate all that was involved with one role, before attempting to assume the duties and responsibilities of another. In her preface to her third volume, The Wives of England,

Mrs. Ellis explained,

> Indeed, the whole of The Daughters of England might with justice be regarded as an introduction to the Wives, just in the same proportion as the occupations and attainments of early life are preparations for a state of existence, in which we have less opportunity for learning, than necessity for acting upon what has already been attained.[6]

There is much repetition from one book to the next, as Mrs. Ellis reinforced certain of her beliefs that applied to women at all stages of their lives, whether they were daughters, wives, or mothers. In The Daughters of England, Mrs. Ellis wrote that woman was "not to live for herself, so much as for others; but, above all, not to live for this world, so much as for eternity."[7] This message of living not for oneself first and of thinking always of others, with others placed on a hierarchy of God at the top, husbands below God, then families, and finally those outside the family circle, was one repeated often in each of the four books in the series. Women were to promote domestic and social happiness and to consider the needs of others before they considered their own. The following quotations, taken from all the four books in the series, indicate the centrality of this message to each book. For example, in The Women of England, one reads that,

> there is a principle in woman's love, that renders it impossible for her to be satisfied without actually doing something for the object of her regard.[8]

and that women

> will, if they are at all intent upon fulfilling the greatest end of their existence, have to bethink themselves every hour, what is best to be done for the good and happiness of those around them.[9]

In The Daughters of England, Mrs. Ellis wrote that

> nothing which offends the feelings of others can be estimable or praiseworthy in ourselves; for it is only in reference to her association with others that woman can be in herself poetical.[10]

In The Wives of England, one reads that

> the love of woman appears to have been created solely to minister; that of man, to be ministered unto .[11]

And finally, in The Mothers of England, Mrs. Ellis wrote that,

> it is in the power of almost every mother, to teach them [their children] that there is a higher enjoyment than that of merely satisfying their own appetites.[12]

The activities that Mrs. Ellis frequently used to characterize a woman's lot included: adapting, bearing, meeting, consoling, supporting, soothing and cheering. The message was clear; women were to regulate their own lives in accordance with how they could best serve others. A chameleon-like quality in women was demanded by Mrs. Ellis as she continuously reminded women of the necessity of being willing to bend to circumstances, to be able to assimilate their own nature to suit those around them, and to adapt themselves to whatever was required of them in the particular station of life they filled. As Mrs. Ellis wrote about women:

> It is to her parents, her husband, her brothers and her sisters, as well as to her intimate friends, that she is the entertaining and instructive companion, adapting herself to their different moods and temperaments.[13]

An implicit part of a woman being able to make others happy was that she first accept her own position and station in life. In each book in the series, Mrs. Ellis warned women against trying to live above their station and beyond their means. "To learn our true position in

life," wrote Mrs. Ellis, "and to be satisfied with it, whether in childhood or old age, is one of the most important of human attainments."[14] It was to the women of the middle class that Mrs. Ellis looked to uphold the moral worth of the country, and she therefore felt that these women must accept cheerfully all the duties and responsibilities that fell to them in their role as the 'keepers of the nation's moral worth'. "This sphere," explained Mrs. Ellis, "has duties and occupations of its own, from which no woman can shrink without culpability and disgrace."[15] Making others happy, though it may require self-sacrifice and even suffering on the part of the woman, was the essential part of the middle class woman's sphere.

(1) Daughters/Sisters

The category of women Mrs. Ellis addressed as 'daughters and sisters' referred to young women of school leaving age, probably in their late teens, prior to their marriage. One of Mrs. Ellis's concerns was that young women too often married without sufficient preparation for the duties and responsibilities they would assume as wives and mothers. Much of what she wrote to the daughters of England was in anticipation of this observation, and her intention was to make the young women of England more aware of the position they would fill, and how to best prepare themselves for it.

Mrs. Ellis was very critical of the current English educational system for women, arguing that this system did not 'fit' women for the duties that would befall them once they left school. In fact, Mrs. Ellis blamed school education for contributing to the "sickly sensibilities, the feeble frames, and the useless habits of the rising generation.[16] The schools concentrated too much, argued Mrs. Ellis, on cultivating

the mental faculties of women to the exclusion of their moral faculties, adding also that the more practical aspects of education were denied women. As Mrs. Ellis wrote in The Women of England:

> When we meet in society with that speechless inanimate, ignorant, and useless being called "a young lady just come from school," it is thought a sufficient apology for all her deficiencies, that she has, poor thing! but just come home from school. Thus implying that nothing in the way of domestic usefulness, social intercourse, or adaption to circumstances can be expected from her until she has had time to learn it.[17]

Mrs. Ellis criticized the schools for concentrating too much on teaching young women various accomplishments, thus giving them false notions of what was to be expected of them once they left school. By teaching subjects and 'accomplishments' more suited to an upper-class lady of leisure, the schools only contributed, argued Mrs. Ellis, to the tendency for many middle class women to try to live beyond their station. As Mrs. Ellis wrote:

> What a catalogue of miseries might be made out as the consequence of this mistaken ambition of the women of England to be ladies - that assumption of delicacy which unfits them for the real business of life, is more to be dreaded in its fatal influence upon their happiness, than the most agonizing disease with which they could be afflicted.[18]

The system of education Mrs. Ellis recommended for the young women of the English middle class would be one in which they were first made to understand what their position was or would be in relation to the rest of society, and secondly that they be 'educated' for this position and for the realities of the life they would meet after leaving school. Regarding their position in society, Mrs. Ellis told women that the first thing of importance "is to be content to be inferior to men-inferior in mental power, in the same proportion that you are inferior in bodily

strength."[19] Instead, woman's strength was in her influence, her quickness of perception, her facility of adaptation, and her acuteness of feeling. Women were more quick to feel than to understand, suggested Mrs. Ellis, and therefore needed to learn to feel 'rightly.' The exercise of the affections was the sphere of action woman must adapt to, "where she may love, and trust, and hope, and serve to the utmost of her wishes." Mrs. Ellis described the law of woman's life as being a law of love:

> To love, is woman's nature, to be loved is the consequence of her having properly exercised and controlled that nature. To love, is woman's duty, - to be beloved, is her reward.[20]

Whatever women learned in their youth could be applied in subsequent years to the service they rendered to those whom it was their duty to love - be it God, their families, or humanity in general. Wrote Mrs. Ellis: "the present moment then, is the time to take into account the right use of all your knowledge and all your accomplishments."[21] She recommended that young women read the works of the best authors in order to open their minds to the truth and to endeavour to form clear notions of good and evil. She felt that women should acquire some intellectual knowledge in order to improve the level of their own conversation, and to gain the respect of their husbands, and children (particularly their sons) that was so necessary if they were to have any influence on these other lives. As Mrs. Ellis wrote:

> Women, whose attractions have been of a more intellectual nature, have maintained their hold upon the affections of their companions, throughout life, even to the unlovely season of old age.[22]

For example, a general knowledge of science rendered women more companionable to men, and also reduced groundless fears of nature while enlarging

the views of the Creator. Women should also possess, suggested Mrs. Ellis, a general knowledge of the political and social state of their country, and an awareness of developments relating to such topics as slavery, war, cruelty to animals, punishment of death, and temperance. A particular branch of study Mrs. Ellis recommended to young women was natural history: the study of nature developed one's moral faculty by bringing one closer to the Creator of all nature. A general knowledge was what was wanted, one to be acquired during the season of youth and retained for the rest of one's life. The aim was not to sacrifice female delicacy by becoming an intellectual,

> It must not be supposed that the writer is one who would advocate, as essential to a woman, any very extraordinary degree of intellectual attainment, especially if confined to one particular branch of study.
>
> To be able to do a great many things tolerably well, is of infinitely more value to a woman, than to be able to excel in one. By the former she may render herself generally useful, by the latter she may dazzle for an hour.[23]

Instead, the acquisition of a general knowledge would help women think for themselves, rather than have them merely take for granted as true all that was believed by those whom they loved.

More important, however, than learning or knowledge, was the possession of cleverness. Mrs. Ellis defined cleverness as dexterity and aptness in doing everything which fell within the sphere of ordinary duty:

> To know how to do everything which can properly come within a woman's sphere of duty, ought to be the ambition of every female mind to turn all our means to account in the service of our friends.[24]

A woman's sphere of duty involved maintaining domestic comfort, order, and respectability by becoming acquainted with the best method of doing everything upon which domestic comfort depended. This was essential if women were to assume the authority of their households and gain the respect of their servants. To prepare for their eventual role as mistresses of households, young women were to begin in the present, before they assumed such responsibilities, to acquire the habits that would develop this cleverness, habits, such as acting from principle rather than impulse, comforting the sick and afflicted, cultivating and exercising one's best feelings, attempting always to be useful and cheerful, developing the ability of close observation, being earnest about everything one did, and very importantly, making the best use of time. Each day's occupations should be planned and timed carefully, so that the "dangerous habit of being a little too late" was avoided. As Mrs. Ellis explained further:

> We are never so capable of being useful to others, as when we have learned to economize our own time; to make exact calculations as to what we are able, or not able, to do in any given period; and so to employ ourselves as to make the trifles of the moment give place to more important avocations.[25]

Because women were to be more than 'domestic drudges', Mrs. Ellis recommended the cultivation of characteristics and habits other than those which improved only her domestic abilities. As well as acquiring general knowledge, women must develop "at least a taste for music, painting, or poetry."[26] Although man may have had to sacrifice "the poetry of his nature" for the realities of material existence, woman's very sympathies and her sweetest and loveliest tendencies depended upon her 'poetical associations'. Women also needed to

develop good taste, delicacy, and 'high-toned purity of character.' For, as Mrs. Ellis wrote:

> Let men rule, as they unquestionably have a right to do, in the senate, the camp, and the court; it is women whose sentiments and feelings give tone to society which in its turn influences the sentiments and feelings of mankind.[27]

In order that the 'tone' women gave society be praise-worthy, certain tendencies in woman's nature were to first be weeded out. Examples of these were: living for society, the love of distinction, singularity, affectation, and letting fashion influence one's mind. Mrs. Ellis particularly warned women against drawing attention upon themselves:

> Woman, if she would preserve her peace, her safefooting in society, her influence, and her unblemished purity, must avoid remarks as an individual, at least in public.[28]

Writing for public consumption, then, was not a natural channel for women's feelings, and pity should be the meed of those women who wrote for that reason. Mrs. Ellis, of course, excluded hereself from this particular category of women. She felt that she was not writing for public recognition or gain, but rather was writing from a moral desire to inform and enlighten the women of England.

Friendship, love and courtship were also topics for the advice that Mrs. Ellis gave to the daughters of England. Regarding friendship, Mrs. Ellis wrote that there must be an equality in friendship, in both rank and station, and intellectual advantages, in order to render it either lasting or desirable. A woman's best friend can only be another woman, wrote Mrs. Ellis, for "there is but one relation in life in which any of the men whom they meet with in mixed society can be anything to them."[29] Therefore, young women were to be careful

about the relationships they formed with the opposite sex, since each man they met was a potential partner in the marriage relationship. Beware of forming ties with non-religious men, wrote Mrs. Ellis, or with men who are of a different sphere of life. Women should also avoid men who are full of false flattery, or whose society and conversation leave much to be desired. As Mrs. Ellis explained:

> It is the constitutional want of woman's nature to have some superior being to look up to; and how shall a man of weak capacity supply this want?[30]

Rather than marrying solely for the sake of being married, women were better to "enjoy the pleasures and endure the sorrows of life, alone." This was a reason, wrote Mrs. Ellis, that it was wrong for the daughters of a family to be left wholly unprovided for. On the death of their parents, these girls were obliged to go out into the world and provide for themselves, a fact that frightened many 'weak-minded' women into unhappy marriages. Women were to be careful of being false in courtship, and they were to remember that one of the greatest charms a girl possessed was that of being content to be a girl, and nothing more. During courtship, and even after an engagement has been contracted, a young woman must continue to mind her duties to relatives and spend most of her time at home. Mrs. Ellis also suggested that young women should ever be prompt to keep back some of their affection for the time when they become wives. Finally, wrote Mrs. Ellis:

> The part of a true-hearted woman is to be satisfied with her lover, such as he is; and to consider him, with all his faults, as sufficiently exalted, and sufficiently perfect for her.[31]

Mrs. Ellis did not write very specifically about what a daughter's duties to her parents consisted of, although throughout her books she emphasized the importance of daughters respecting and honoring their parents. In one chapter in The Daughters of England, Mrs. Ellis made special mention of the gratitude and affection daughters owed their parents. Regardless of whether one's parents were lacking in educational or cultural graces, they still deserved their daughter's gratitude and affection. For even if one's parents were not all that they ideally might have been, wrote Mrs. Ellis, "no young girl can be too affectionate at home, because [of] the demerits of a brother, a sister, or a parent."[32] Daughters, wrote Mrs. Ellis, should respect their parents because they are their elders, and more importantly because their parents provided them with the love and the teaching in infancy that shaped and developed their own moral character. A good and wise daughter will appreciate all that her parents have done for her, claimed Mrs. Ellis, and should therefore spend the rest of her life bestowing gratitude and affection upon her parents and their memory. As Mrs. Ellis further wrote:

> How just then, and how true is that development of youthful gratitude which looks back to these early days, and seeks to return into the bosom of parental love, the treasures of that harvest which parental love has sown![33]

In The Women of England, Mrs. Ellis also discussed briefly the treatment due a mother and father from their daughter. A mother, wrote Mrs. Ellis, is "the faithful and time-worn mother of the family" and should, in her maturer years, be served and taken care of by her children, in repayment for all the duty and service she has provided

them during their infancy. Daughters in particular, wrote Mrs. Ellis, should take over as many of the domestic duties from their mothers as possible once they reach the 'young lady' stage. Too often, suggested Mrs. Ellis, this does not happen because of selfishness and inconsideration on the part of daughters. As she further wrote:

> Do we find the respected and venerated mother so carefully cherished, that she is permitted to sit in perfect peace, the presiding genius, as she ought to be, over every department of domestic comfort? Her affectionate daughters, her mind relieved of its burdens by their watchful love, herself arrayed in the best attire, as a badge of her retirement from active duty, and smiling as the steps of time glide past her, because she knows that younger feet are walking in her own sweet ways of pleasantness and peace.[34]

Strive to achieve this, pleaded Mrs. Ellis with the daughters of England, for a mother will always be one's 'earliest' and 'best friend'.

Fathers, and particularly fathers of the middle class, were also to be treated with kindness, deference, and consideration by their daughters. It is deplorable, declared Mrs. Ellis, that the father of a family toils away long hours in "the shops, the warehouses, the offices, and the counting houses," while the female members of his family enjoy leisure-filled idle hours, concerning themselves primarily with acquiring expensive clothing and furnishings. Mrs. Ellis blamed such a situation as described above, on the system of 'false refinement' that she felt was prevalent in English society. As she wrote:

> I doubt whether a still more repulsive and melancholy picture might not be made, of a man of business, in the decline of life, when he naturally asks for repose, spurred and goaded into fresh exertions, by the artificial wants and insatiable demands of his wife and daughters.[35]

A daughter's duties to her parents, according to Mrs. Ellis, required her to guard against any selfishness and inconsideration on her own part in order that she concentrate on how to best serve her parents' needs. Once an individual had moved beyond childhood, he or she should no longer expect to receive service but should be prepared, instead, to serve. As Mrs. Ellis concluded, it was God's plan that children would one day be able "to enjoy the holy privilege of conducting their [parents] feeble steps, in peace and safety, towards the close of their earthly pilgrimage."[36]

In their role as sisters, young women also had important duties and responsibilities to perform. A bond of faithful friendship often existed between sisters because, as women, they shared the knowledge that their sex was formed to suffer. Sisters, wrote Mrs. Ellis, are weak and susceptible and depend upon one another for happiness. Their most important duties as sisters, however, were in regards to their relationship with their brothers. Because of woman's greater sensibility, a sister had the 'sacred' duty of warning her brothers of moral evil and encouraging them in moral good. However, warned Mrs. Ellis, though a sister may see fault in her brothers, she must still consider herself their inferior. A man has need of his sister's services, and if his sister adopts some means to increase or preserve his happiness, he will respond to her with affection. Even the most irksome duties and services should be willingly performed for a man by his sister. A man, wrote Mrs. Ellis, does not want an idle sister:

> Let her hang about his neck at parting, and bathe his face with her tears; if she has not taken the trouble to rise and prepare his early meal, but has allowed him to depend upon the servant, or to prepare it for

> himself; it is very questionable whether that brother can be made to believe in her affection, and certainly he will be far from feeling its value.[37]

A sister should be ideally a substitute for what a man afterwards "ensures more permanently in a wife."[38] A woman, too, when she marries, will find in her husband the friendship and protection she had with her brother but with her husband she will also find more tenderness, interest and affection.

Mrs. Ellis wrote that because women have been raised to an equality with man under the Christian dispensation, and this despite the fact that they were the first to sin, they therefore need to bestow their gratitude. "Theirs," Mrs. Ellis wrote, "is a relative existence, and their enjoyments consist more in giving than receiving."[39] In order to perform all that was expected of them, women needed the principle of religion to govern their lives, and to guide them in all that they did. Expanding upon this, Mrs. Ellis wrote:

> For woman from her very feebleness is fearful; while from her sensitiveness she is peculiarly exposed to pain. Without religion, then, she is the most pitiable, the most abject, the most utterly destitute of all created beings.[40]

For the young women of England, in their roles as sisters and daughters, Mrs. Ellis's advice was clear. Women must begin early to gain the knowledge, acquire the habits, and practice the skills that would prepare them for the role and position in society that they would someday assume. Since most women would be responsible for the running and care of a home, a young woman needed to hone up on the skills of good domestic management. As wives and mothers, women had to acquire the knowledge and character-attributes that would enable them to

ensure peace and happiness in the home, and to have a positive influence on all that came within their sphere of action. Finally, it was woman's especial duty to render service to others, at every stage of her progression through life: to her parents, her brothers and sisters, her husband, her children, and to any who required some service. It was never too early to begin their training. As Mrs. Ellis wrote:

> I believe the moral training which prepares a woman for one sphere of duty, is equally productive of benefit if she fills another, and I rest this belief upon my conviction, that all the loveliest and most estimable propensities of woman's nature, were bestowed upon her for early and continued exercise in a strictly relative capacity.[41]

(2) Wives

As the above quotation indicates, much of what Mrs. Ellis wrote to women in The Daughters of England was repeated in her next book in the series, The Wives of England. The habits, skills, and attitudes young women were to attain during their season of youth prior to marriage, were now of even greater importance for her to possess as a wife. For example, the deference a young woman showed her brother prepared a woman for the deference she would show her husband; the domestic skills, general knowledge, and habits of cheerful submissiveness acquired during youth prepared a young woman for wifely duties; and finally, the whole helping-service mode a young girl was raised to accept as the mode her own behaviors and life-goals must fit into, resulted in women accepting, many unquestioningly, the hardships, trials, and responsibilities of marriage and motherhood. This role-change a woman underwent, from daughter to wife, was a significant one in terms of the greater responsibility a woman now assumed. As a wife,

wrote Mrs. Ellis,

> she has now become the centre of a wide circle of influence, which will widen and extend itself to other circles, until it mixes with the great ocean of eternity.[42]

Mrs. Ellis attached great importance to the role of the wife in society, stating that it was probably the most significant role a woman could assume, next to being a mother. "It is only in the married state," wrote Mrs. Ellis, "that the boundless capabilities of woman's love can ever be fully known or appreciated."[43] Because the position of a wife was such an important one, Mrs. Ellis wanted women to give a great deal of thought to marriage before they actually did marry. She began by deflating women's self-importance by informing them that being chosen as someone's wife did not make them special or unique since, wrote Mrs. Ellis,

> nature never yet formed any woman too destitute of attractions, or sent her forth into the world too meanly endowed for her to be chosen as a wife.[44]

Mrs. Ellis emphasized the importance of young women looking at marriage realistically, and not through "visions of girlish romance." Although affection and love were necessary parts of the marriage relationship, Mrs. Ellis wrote that "it is highly important that the woman who ventures to become a wife should not be leaning upon the frail reed of human love for her support."[45]

> I confess I am no advocate for mere love matches made without any regard to worldly prudence; because our young people, and particularly our young women, must be very differently educated from what they are, before such a course of action could be anything but rash and

> ruinous in the extreme . No, society must be very differently constituted from what it is, to admit of the heart and the affections having free exercise in fixing the marriage tie.[46]

A woman needed the additional strength of religious conviction to help her in all that she attempted, and she needed to carry out her wifely duties and responsibilities in such a manner that she "earned" her husband's love. Although love might arise spontaneously, suggested Mrs. Ellis, it would not continue to exist without some care and culture. Man's love, she added, "is far more dependent than that of women, upon having the taste and fancy always pleased."[47] If women were negligent in taking care of their husbands' needs and wants, they could destroy his love:

> Of man's love it must ever be remembered too, that if once destroyed, it is destroyed for ever. Woman has the strong power of her sympathy and her imagination, by which interest can be reawakened, and the past can be made to live again, but the nature of man's affection admits no very potent stimulus from such cause.[48]

Also, wrote Mrs. Ellis, a woman's love could continue to grow after marriage, but a man's never would. The love that Mrs. Ellis recognized as important to marriage was not the 'romantic love' of popular novels; instead it was love of mutual responsibility between a husband and wife. A husband who loved his wife offered her sympathy and protection, while the natural characteristic of woman's love, wrote Mrs. Ellis, was "to be perpetually doing something for the good or the happiness of the object of her affection, [and] it is but reasonable that man's personal confort should be studiously attended to."[49] Further realities of marriage that Mrs. Ellis wanted young women to be aware of before their own marriage included an acknowledgement of their inferior

positions, as women and wives to that of their husbands. In the words of Mrs. Ellis, "In her intercourse with man, it is impossible but that woman should feel her own inferiority, and it is right that it should be so."[50] Mrs. Ellis warned young women to be careful to see their lovers as they were, for if they chose to marry a foolish or weak man, they must abide by the consequences. As Mrs. Ellis wrote:

> Even he, [the husband] whatever may be his degree of folly, is entitled to respect from her, [his wife] because she has voluntarily placed herself in such a position that she must necessarily be his inferior.[51]

Thus, because a woman was the weaker and more easily deluded party in the courtship, wrote Mrs. Ellis, she had to be especially careful about any marital decisions she made. A young woman should also expect in marriage, Mrs. Ellis wrote, to be a sufferer. The position of wife required many sacrifices and much self-denial on the part of a woman for the sake of the happiness and comfort of her husband; "her part is to make sacrifices in order that his enjoyment may be enhanced."[52] Making one's husband happy required, as Mrs. Ellis emphasized frequently, preparation on the part of a young woman for the assumption of wifely duties and responsibilities. For example, Mrs. Ellis wrote:

> Oh! What a happy day would that be for Britain, whose morning should smile upon the making of a law for allowing no woman to marry until she had become an economist.[53]

Marriage then, was a serious responsibility and was not to be entered into lightly. The woman who did not want to endure all the duties, sacrifices, and responsibilities inherent in becoming someone's wife should never have married.

Mrs. Ellis devoted a part of her The Wives of England to discussing the characteristics of men, outlining some of the differences between men and women. She wrote that men were exempt from the 'underhand contrivances, secret envyings, and petty spite' that so often affected women. The fact that men were at first expressly formed in the image of the Maker resulted in some men being akin to angels. Men tended to generalize, wrote Mrs. Ellis, about broad issues; their concerns were focussed on such aspects of life as government, justice, and the state of the world. However, because of men's concern with pecuniary obligations, and the nature and urgency of their occupations, their characters might be in danger of falling into an animal or mere mechanical state. It was the duty of women, then, suggested Mrs. Ellis, to help men invest material things with the attributes of mind and spirit. The attraction a woman possessed for a man, explained Mrs. Ellis,

> was permitted her for the high and holy purpose of softening the harder and more obdurate nature of man, so as to render it capable of impressions upon which the seal of eternity might be set.[54]

Mrs. Ellis blamed the behavior of idle, foolish, or cruel men on their having had foolish mothers. Woman, whether as man's sister, wife or mother needed to be his friend, helping him in his times of suffering and shame to overcome his weaknesses.

Mrs. Ellis, however, had more to say about the weaknesses in the character of women than she did about the character-weaknesses of men. Caprice was a female fault, as was affection, and the vain desire to be important. Women were too often occupied with trifle and with surface things, unable to discern the truly significant from the insignificant. On the positive side, women observed the minute and the particular

(often overlooked by men); they possessed a charitable nature that often compelled them to help others less fortunate, and the "common usages of kindness" were easy and familiar to women. Mrs. Ellis's conclusion, after considering the distinct features of men and women, was that they provided a balance for one another, and together were a stronger force for good then they were as individuals; it was

> the beautiful adaptation of the natural constitution of the two sexes, so as to affect a greater amount of good by their joint efforts, than either could effect alone.[55]

This was the plan of an all-wise Providence, suggested Mrs. Ellis. Men and women complement each other so well that girls were accustomed to fill an inferior place, to give up and fall back, while boys learned to protect and shelter the opposite sex. Marriage was the institution in which the different natures of men and women could be brought together, and their effectiveness made greater than if they had remained single. The example Mrs. Ellis used to illustrate this 'balance' in marriage was that because men generalize, they tended to look at everything they contemplated on an extensive scale, making them good providers for their families, but poor economists. Women, however, looked to the particular and were potentially good economists, able to manage expenses and run the household better than their husbands could. Men and women, though possessed of separate and distinct natures, worked together wonderfully. This was the reason, wrote Mrs. Ellis, for disclaiming the arguments of those who would call for equality between the sexes:

> Those who argue for the perfect equality- the oneness of women in their intellectual nature with men, appear to know little of

> that higher philosophy, by which both, from the very distinction of their characters, have been made sub-servient to the purposes of wisdom and goodness.[56]

Summing up her thoughts, Mrs. Ellis concluded that:

> It is their [men's] business, and their duty, to find a place amongst their fellow-men, to establish a footing in society, and to maintain it by all just and honourable means. This is no care of woman's. Her appropriate part is to adorn that station wherever it may be, by a contented mind, an enlightened intellect, a chastened spirit and an exemplary life.[57]

One might argue that, for Mrs. Ellis, the truest and most basic complementary element in the male - female relationship was that women needed to serve those whom they loved, while men's love was dependent upon this service being rendered them.

A large amount of what Mrs. Ellis wrote to women in The Wives of England revolved around how women should behave toward their husbands. For the new bride, Mrs. Ellis emphasized the importance of her learning to regulate her conduct so she neither offended others, nor brought offence upon herself. As Mrs. Ellis explained:

> It is unquestionably the best policy, then, for a bride to be in all things the opposite of eccentric . In being unobtrusive, quiet, and impartially polite to all, and willing to bend to circumstances, consists the great virtue of a bride.[58]

The ultimate goals a wife must endeavour to obtain were,

> to make that husband happy, to raise his character, to give dignity to his house, and to train up his children in the path of wisdom.[59]

More specific suggestions for how to make one's husband happy were offered by Mrs. Ellis. A woman needed to adapt herself to her

husband's mood and character, never letting herself become too requiring, wearying, depressing, or annoying. Her conversation should raise the tone of thought at the fireside, adapting the subject of conversation to her husband's tastes and habits. A woman's conversation, wrote Mrs. Ellis, should be made a medium of conferring happiness and an instrument of doing good. As well as amusing her family with her conversation, a woman should strive to lead others into animated and intelligent conversation, rather than dominating the conversation with her own communications. After all, wrote Mrs. Ellis, men appreciate silence in a woman.[60] Also, a wife should always attempt to render the home the scene of her husband's favourite amusements and his dearest joys. Suggestions provided by Mrs. Ellis for accomplishing this included being neat and attractive in one's personal appearance, practicing an instrument to provide entertainment, and considering a husband's needs and wants first, as he is the principal person in the household. For if a woman chose to marry, wrote Mrs. Ellis, "she places herself under a moral obligation to make her husband's home as pleasant to him as she can."[61] When in mixed society, a wife should demonstrate to others how much she feels her husband's superiority to herself. This is done by keeping silent when he speaks, respecting his opinions, and never making him the subject of reproach in her conversation with others. As Mrs. Ellis wrote:

> To render illustrious a beloved name, and
> to shed a glory around an honoured brow,
> is at once the most natural, and the
> noblest ambition, of which the female mind
> is capable.[62]

Mrs. Ellis underlined the importance of women keeping their husband's happy and satisfied by warning them of the consequences if they

should ever abuse or lose their husband's love. A woman who failed either intellectually or morally to please her husband was, warned Mrs. Ellis, treading on dangerous ground. As she explained, "there is nothing but uncomplaining loneliness and utter self-abasement, for the position of that wife who cannot keep her husband's heart!" Therefore, pleaded Mrs. Ellis, "Who then would incur the risk of so vast and irreparable a loss by a neglect of those personal attractions by which it was her study in early life to charm?"[63]

Another important way in which a wife must strive to please her husband was in the domestic sphere. A husband necessarily depends upon his wife, wrote Mrs. Ellis, to take charge of the running and care of the home. Domestic annoyances should never be made the concern of the man of the house, as most men were engaged in business or public affairs which they found "more than sufficient for their peace of mind."[64] For this reason, every wife should have charge of a sphere of domestic arrangements with which her husband should not interfere. In order to effectively manage the household expenses, a wife should be knowledgeable of her husband's pecuniary circumstances; it was important, wrote Mrs. Ellis, that the wife manage her domestic sphere according to her family's position in society. Many women were tempted to spend more money for furnishings for the home, and to hire more servants, than their husbands' salaries could afford. "There can be no dignity," wrote Mrs. Ellis, "in assuming what does not belong to our actual position in society."[65] A woman of the middle class should never blush to acknowledge herself a tradesman's wife, for if she observed scrupulously the limits of her proper sphere, "a right-minded woman need never be made to feel that she is not respected."[66] Just as it

was not proper for a woman to try to live above her station in life, neither should she allow herself or her household to live below their station. The real goal for women to attain was to be satisfied with the position in which Providence had placed them, and to make their impression on society by the high moral and intellectual character of their social intercourse, rather than by the cost of their furniture or the brilliance of their entertainments. Good domestic management secured peace and promoted happiness in the home, and it was the woman's duty to be the support and the comfort of the whole household.

As well as being responsible for the welfare of every member of her family, the mistress of the home had the responsibility of seeing that the work of the house was carried out in an effective and efficient manner. To accomplish all of this, the woman of the house should rise early and organize the day so that different kinds of work fill up different intervals. The mistress of the house, wrote Mrs. Ellis, should always appear calm and perfectly self- possessed, and should attempt to establish throughout the household the principles of order, justice, and benevolence. She must decide the order in which tasks will be undertaken, and give clear directions to her servants, "for servants" suggested Mrs. Ellis, "are a class of people who think but little."[67] By her own example of industrious habits and personal exertion, the mistress of the house encouraged the rest of her household to do like-wise. Mrs. Ellis continuously advised the women of her reading audience to tackle their daily duties with promptness and energy. As she wrote:

> I can think of no more appropriate word by which to describe the manner in which her duties ought to be performed, than the homely phraseology we use, when we speak of things being done heartily, for it is precisely in this way that she may effectively prove to her husband how entirely she considers her destiny, with all its hopes and all of its anxieties, to be identified with his.[68]

The woman who neglected any of her daily duties was probably hurting some "beloved member" of her household. Remember, wrote Mrs. Ellis, "we have but a short time, it may be but a very short time, allowed us for promoting the comfort or the happiness of our fellow-creatures."[69] Look around you each day, suggested Mrs. Ellis, and see what services you can render, what kindliness you can show, and what duties you can perform to increase the happiness of your husband and the other members of your household. The time-consuming practice of morning calls could be severely restricted, suggested Mrs. Ellis, in order that the woman of the house had more time to see to her duties. Time wasted on endless visiting by women could be better employed, for example, on the care and attention paid to members of their household. Even servants were entitled to their share of the mistresses' consideration and kindness. Young servants in particular, wrote Mrs. Ellis, should have the benefit of their Christian mistress's care. However, the mistress of the household should avoid becoming too familiar with her servants, warned Mrs. Ellis, for a servant and a mistress each have their own province that must be kept distinct from one another. Also, mistresses should be on their guard against "the introduction of unprincipled charwomen, or other assistants, into their families."[70]

Women must also extend their benevolence and kindness to the community at large, and not only to the members of their own households. The poor and the sick of the neighbourhood, destitute and homeless

relatives, and even her husband's young apprentices should be the concern of every caring and dutiful mistress. Women, unlike men, wrote Mrs. Ellis, were by nature fitted for "entering into the peculiarities of personal feeling, so as to enable them to sympathize with the suffering or the distressed."[71] This power of identifying themselves with other natures was innate to women, claimed Mrs. Ellis, and allowed women to feel, rather than know, what effect they were having on others. Men, however, were comparatively destitute of this power.[72]

To accomplish all that their role in life demanded of them, wrote Mrs. Ellis, the wives of England needed the aid of religion. Their responsibilities were great, and the expectations that Mrs. Ellis placed on them were high. The middle class women of England, particularly the married women, made up a large part of the 'moral force' of England. Not only must they serve the needs of their husbands and families, they were also charged with the care of all their fellow-men, particularly the suffering and distressed: "like a ministering angel," was how Mrs. Ellis described a woman. The awesome task of running the often large Victorian households was also the duty of the wives of England; servants had to be supervised, the household budget managed, and the work of the house completed in such a manner that the husband and master of the house was never bothered with domestic concerns, while at the same time his every need and want was taken care of. A wife's real role was to serve others; in fact the ability to live for and sympathize with others was innate to females, claimed Mrs. Ellis. The woman who lived for herself first, was going against nature. Finally, write Mrs. Ellis, the circle of influence a wife enjoys is great, and her importance is significant. As Mrs. Ellis explained:

> The English wife should, therefore, regard her position as a central one, and remember that from her, as the head of a family, and the mistress of a household, branch off in every direction trains of thought, and tones of feeling, operating upon those more immediately around her, but by no means ceasing there; for each of her domestics, each of her relatives, and each of her familiar friends, will in their turn become the centre of another circle, from which will radiate good or evil influence extending onwards, in the same manner, to the end of all things .[73]

The wife, therefore, who failed to live up to the high expectations placed upon her was not just hurting herself; she was affecting many other people. About such women who, by the neglect of their responsibilities created wrong influences, Mrs. Ellis wrote:

> And what if it should be such as to mark them out for wrath in the great day of wrath! And if that too should have spread, as the other might have done, on-on-from one circle and one generation to another - from one family one community, one people, one country, widening on every hand until the world itself should suffer from the universal taint![74]

The consequences of not being a good wife were frightening indeed. However, if becoming a wife appeared to be a great responsibility, becoming a mother only increased that responsibility. In her last book in the 'Women of England' series, Mrs. Ellis addressed the mothers of England.

(3) Mothers

Mrs. Ellis began her advice to the mothers of England by reminding them that everything which she advised as being essential to them as young and single women could now be made a "hundred-fold more valuable" to them as mothers.[75] The role of mother was the most 'serious' role a woman would ever assume, and there was no escaping from the duties of a mother, wrote Mrs. Ellis. Upon the shoulders of mothers laid the

awesome responsibility of the training of future generations, and "the formation of characters whose names may be surrounded by a glory, or stamped with a blot, in the history of ages yet to come."[76] Therefore, it was important that mothers understood what was involved in raising their children, and that they accepted the seriousness of their position. They had to raise their children with an eye to the future, considering carefully the consequences their behaviors and actions would have upon the nature of their children. Mothers always had an influence on their children, wrote Mrs. Ellis, and this influence was either good or bad. The impression a mother made upon her child would not be eradicated either by a change of scene or a lapse of time, warned Mrs. Ellis, "because it was the first, and made at a time when the heart was a tender and willing recipient to the impress of affection."[77] Because a mother's influence was so powerful, the very mental and spiritual welfare of her children was placed in her care. Therefore, urged Mrs. Ellis, it was essential that the impressions children received from their mothers be just and true. As she elaborated:

> What is done by a mother is of infinite importance to her children, because a single fault indulged on her part, may impart its character to their whole lives, and spread through circle after circle of influence, widening on, and still extending, long after she herself has been gathered to her last earthly home.[78]

Mothers have the duty of raising the character of a people and should therefore, wrote Mrs. Ellis, take pride in the importance of their efforts in such a great and good work.

Mrs. Ellis did not write much about the qualities or character of mothers; most of her advice was directed instead to the training and

educating of children. However, she did comment that a mother should have a 'supreme regard' for religion, and that her conduct should make this regard for religion obvious to her children. It was of vital importance that a mother be watchful of her own conduct, being ever conscious of the example she set for her children. Mrs. Ellis wrote that a "simple straight-forward character" will sometimes become a better manager of children than those mothers "whose minds are stored with systems of education."[79] However, she stressed the importance of mothers spending more time, thought, and effort in studying how to be intellectually agreeable in their own families. For, as Mrs. Ellis explained:

> Children seldom love long those whom they are unable to respect, and thus a fond and foolish mother invariably brings upon herself the neglect and often the contempt of her family.[80]

The happiness of the household and the tone of the domestic atmosphere depended very much on the mother, wrote Mrs. Ellis. It was her especial duty to guard against any weakening of the bonds of family affection; "to see that the fountain of love is kept fresh, and pure, and perpetually flowing."[81] One way a woman could accomplish this was by doing her best to perpetuate good feelings between her husband and her children. Regretfully, fathers of families in the present day, wrote Mrs. Ellis, are too deeply engaged in their occupations and other pursuits to spend much time in the upbringing of the children or in establishing the moral discipline of the home. A mother could help to bring a father and his children closer together by screening his faults from their observation, and by endeavouring to place her and her children in an inferior situation as regards their father. Remember also, instructed Mrs. Ellis, children should never occupy the attention of

their mother to the exclusion of their father or his affairs; "it deserves no milder name than cruelty when a father is made to feel jealous of his own children." [82] The source of a mother's power lay in her influence and sympathy, suggested Mrs. Ellis, and not in her authority. Women's physical weakness and the natural susceptibility of their feelings rendered them "wholly unfit for wielding the weapon of authority to any useful purpose."[83] Utilizing sound principle and commonsense was the way in which a mother should govern her children.

Most of what Mrs. Ellis wrote to the mothers of England related to the upbringing, training and education of their children. She assigned this important duty of raising and teaching children almost totally to mothers because, as she explained,

> None but a mother can love a child well enough to always be teaching it...to be always ready and willing to convert every incident that may occur in the nursery, or around the household hearth, into a medium for the enlargement of the sphere of thought, the correction of error, or the establishment of truth.[84]

The strongest of all principles in the female sex was a mother's love, and it was with joy in a woman's heart that a new being was ushered into the world. Maternal love is in fact an instinct, suggested Mrs. Ellis, "which, from its intensity and depth, its all-pervading and inextinguishable vitality, so lives and breathes through every act, thought, word, and look of the fond mother."[85] Mothers were to be careful, however, that their love for their children did not hinder them in proceeding with the correct method of bringing up these children. Too often, warned Mrs. Ellis, a mother's tenderness and love for her child was ungoverned and burst forth without calculation or restraint. The natural weakness of such a mother's heart tempted her to risk the future

good of her child by gratifying its every wish or want immediately.

Children should be treated in a 'clear, honourable, and straightforward' way, wrote Mrs. Ellis, but they need to learn early that prompt obedience to their parent's wishes is always required. A child whose rebellion against authority was tolerated in early life, would find it difficult in later life to submit to a higher Power when it was required; "each day is fraught with suffering to the little being who is thus allowed to be a law unto itself."[86] There must be a discipline then, wrote Mrs. Ellis, but it should not take the form of rooting out evil by breaking the natural will of the child. Human nature was not naturally evil; instead it was capable of advancing onwards until it attained "approximation of the Divine."[87] Begin then, advised Mrs. Ellis, by commending your child to the care and guidance of its Heavenly Father. Upon the birth of their child, parents also should rededicate their lives to the 'service and glory of God.'

One of the mother's most important responsibilities involved the religious upbringing of her children. As Mrs. Ellis wrote:

> We do look to women, and to mothers especially, to see that religion is not performed in the sanctuary and praised on the platform, while the world is in reality the household god which presides over the domestic hearth.[88]

The natural impulse of youth was to be happy, but unless this impulse was under the proper direction of religious conviction, it would be trifled away or expended upon objects which never "ought to awaken gladness in the human breast."[89] Therefore, urged Mrs. Ellis, teach your children that their God is a God of love, and not a God of terror. Also, children were to be taught toleration of beliefs or modes of religion that were different from their own, just as they were taught

toleration of various opinions and of different forms of government. In this way, a mother would help to ensure that her child grew up with moral principles, based on religious conviction.

Much of the advice Mrs. Ellis had for mothers stressed the importance of their beginning early to cultivate the moral character of their child. Too often, she wrote, mothers were concerned only with the 'animal frame' of their child, and his physical needs, assuming that his moral nature would be taken care of at some later time: "when the child shall be sent to school, or committed to the care of a governess, to be made wise and good."[90] A mother should also be involved with the early training of her child's mind, not being satisfied either with leaving this to be accomplished at some future date. "It is for the future," Mrs. Ellis wrote, "and for one which extends far beyond what the body needs to be prepared for, that she has to cultivate the mind- the immortal nature of her child."[91] The mother who spent her time cultivating the moral and intellectual nature of her child during its early years would prevent a great deal of public charity being required in the future. If asked to assign a priority, Mrs. Ellis would urge mothers to devote more of their time and energy to the moral training of their child, rather than the intellectual. "Moral instruction," wrote Mrs. Ellis, is "that far more important part of education which consists in forming the habits of children." The mother who assumed the moral training of her child assumed a great power, wrote Mrs. Ellis, "the greatest which one human being can possibly exercise over another - the power to rule its admiration and its disgust, its love and its abhorrence."[92] Habits that Mrs. Ellis recommended being instilled in children included the habit of punctuality, and habits of

pity, generosity, and affection.

Instilling these habits in children could be accomplished in a number of ways, suggested Mrs. Ellis. By having taught your children to be kind to animals, for example, they would learn the value of pity. Children who were encouraged to share their possessions, and to occasionally sacrifice that with which they hated to part would acquire gratitude and generosity. Mothers should also strive to instill into the minds of children a higher taste, watching over their impressions and associations so as to guard their 'delicacy of feeling' and their 'purity of mind.' Turn your child's tastes away from the pursuit of the merely material, wrote Mrs. Ellis, and encourage him or her to cultivate an appreciation for the beautiful and the sublime in life. Incidentally, added Mrs. Ellis, this appreciation was best cultivated in a country setting; children who were taken periodically to the country would benefit greatly. Finally, as part of a child's moral training, a mother should attempt to encourage moral courage while at the same time discouraging any signs of worldly-mindedness in her child. An important goal for a mother to strive for was to have her children learn to love truth for its own sake and to hate any type of falsehood. Young people armoured with the desire to please their Heavenly Father would go forth into adult society able to refrain from adopting the false standards which worldly-mindedness would always present to their view.

Although not as important to the child as moral training, the intellectual training of a child should also be the concern of the caring and dutiful mother. Again, Mrs. Ellis credited the mother as being the child's best teacher in this area. As Mrs. Ellis explained,

> it is peculiarly their province to render the path of learning lovely and attractive, and thus to associate feelings of happiness with the

> acquisition of ideas, the prosecution of study, and the general improvement of the mental faculties.[93]

During their early childhood, children should be encouraged to draw and to play with playthings they can use rather than those they can only admire. They should often be thrown upon their own resources, so that they learn to cope with and overcome their own helplessness and ignorance. The greatest absurdity a parent could perhaps commit, claimed Mrs. Ellis, was to educate a child to be a genius. Instead be satisfied if your child was educated to be active, useful, conversant in common things, willing to assist others, and able to easily adapt to circumstances. As well, argued Mrs. Ellis, rather than sending your child off to school, he or she would probably be better educated at home. The schools, particularly those established for girls, too often encouraged young people to try and move up to another sphere in life, rather than helping them accept cheerfully the sphere of life to which they belonged. It was difficult, suggested Mrs. Ellis, to try and separate a child's moral training from his intellectual training for no matter how good a school was, "the character of the child will still be demanded at the mother's hand."[94] It would be a more consistent form of education, then, if the child stayed at home and had only one teacher. In conclusion, Mrs. Ellis wrote:

> Truly it is a mystery beyond solution that a fond mother should prefer sending her children away from home, to pursue their education entirely under the care of strangers![95]

In a section entitled "General Duties of a Mother," Mrs. Ellis made some suggestions regarding the general discipline and training of children. She urged mothers to cultivate a spirit of love in the home, creating a genial and happy atmosphere in which to live. Children need

to make a 'bosom friend' of their mother, wrote Mrs. Ellis, and should refer to her as the highest and best authority on all disputed points. Some rules of behavior mothers were to establish for their children included not letting them overeat, ensuring they had plenty of outdoor exercise, and seeing that they always spoke and behaved well at home, as well as when they were outside of the home. Children should be taught to respect servants but at the same time, wrote Mrs. Ellis

> they ought, on the other hand, to be carefully guarded against making themselves a party with servants, either in obtaining their own ends in opposition to their parents, or serving the selfish purposes of servants in any other way.[96]

Any amusements children requested to take part in should be allowed by parents only if the parents approved of the activity and could adequately supervise it. When children were disobedient, wrote Mrs. Ellis, a judicious mother might use the 'instruments of praise and blame.' However, a mother should never use taunting or reproachful expressions to children once the children had shown that they were genuinely sorry for the offence they had committed.

In the last part of her book addressed to the mothers of England, Mrs. Ellis wrote about the different ways in which boys and girls should be trained. Her reason for recommending different methods of training was because the range of duties assigned to men and women differed so widely from one another. In order for man to be fit for his station, for example, the Allwise Dispenser of human events had endowed him with peculiar capabilities of mind, wrote Mrs. Ellis, "which it is the important business of the mother to examine and consider."[97] Boys, she wrote, have a superabundance of mental and physical energy, and need to be humoured to a certain extent. In order to influence their sons,

mothers must also charm them: "there ought to be a feeling in the mind of a son towards his mother, that with her severest rebuke will be blended a sympathy more intense than he could ever find else where."[98] The nature of man was such that it required association with the gentler sex and the boy who learned to love and revere his mother, would go forth into the world with a higher respect for women in general. Therefore, wrote Mrs. Ellis, it was important that a son was able to take pride in his mother, for,

> however tender and conciliating the conduct of a mother may be towards her children, if, on public occasions, her sons discover that she has neither the knowledge nor the tact to acquit herself like a woman of sense, the star of her ascendancy will most probably go down, never to rise again.[99]

The boy who talked disparagingly of women, then, had probably been raised by a foolish mother. A mother should ensure that her boys learn early to value justice; they should never, for example, be allowed to be cruel to weaker creatures such as girls and animals. In this way, a mother helped her son to acquire the principles of integrity and truth which would become so important to him when he first entered into business affairs and into the occupations of a man. Teach your son religious principles, admonished Mrs. Ellis, and never let him be sent out to learn a trade or a profession under an irreligious master. When a boy had reached the age that enabled him to leave his home and go out on his own, he should receive a just and reasonable settlement from his father suggested Mrs. Ellis. A woman's primary duty, as the mother of sons, was to endeavour to "smooth the asperities of man's nature," and to provide him with the comfort and love he needed in order to go into the world and face his responsibilities.

The training a girl received should prepare her as well for filling the place and discharging the duties that she would one day assume. Girls, suggested Mrs. Ellis, had a greater susceptibility of feeling, a wider variety of impressions, and more versatility of character than boys; therefore, these were the natural capabilities that a mother should endeavour to strengthen in the training of her daughters. As Mrs. Ellis wrote:

> Any mode of training that would deprive women of her natural feelings, would deprive her of the capability which she holds as her most sacred trust, of being a blessing to her fellow-creatures, and especially to man. [100]

To make young women all which the companions of their future lives would desire should be the outcome of a girl's training suggested Mrs. Ellis. Girls should not, however, be absorbed in any purely intellectual pursuit as they required a much more practical kind of education. Domestic duties, for example, should be made a part of a girl's training. Sending girls off to school, Mrs. Ellis reemphasized, was not a good idea. A girl needed her mother's influence and example for the proper formation of her character, while for the acquisition of learning a governess or teacher could be brought into the home. Because a woman was "naturally and necessarily weak in comparison with man," wrote Mrs. Ellis, "she should not be rendered weaker than is necessary by an education artificial, unhealthy, and unnatural." [101] Schools, Mrs. Ellis further suggested, too often provided this kind of an education. Mothers should instead encourage their daughters to preserve their health by getting sufficient exercise in the open air, and also involve their daughters in activities with boys, such as sports and the studies of biology and geology.

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Girls needed the special attention of their mothers because in comparison to boys, they were "more easily diverted, less fortified by moral courage, and more tempted to artifice."[102] A mother should strive to have a place in her daughter's heart; to be a partner in all of her enjoyments, and to know her daughter as well as anyone could know her. A young girl needed the friendship and protection of her mother particularly when she started to mingle with the other sex. Girls were easily deceived and flattered, and because their happiness depended so much on making others happy, or in gaining favour, they were "subject to an endless variety of anticipations and regrets, of hopes and disappointments."[103] The advice and wisdom a mother shared with her daughter would do much to alleviate this unhappiness and uncertainty. Do not, wrote Mrs. Ellis, be in a hurry to marry your daughter off:

> For how is it possible to suppose, that those girls who are so little wanted or so little valued in their natural homes, could by any desirable acquisition to the home of a husband?[104]

Mrs. Ellis argued that young girls should be able to seek and secure employment without being ridiculed by society. As she explained:

> When we think how much happier they would be if profitably employed; and how much better it would be for their parents, and all with whom they are concerned, if they were also bringing a little money to the general stock, it is truly astonishing that the predjudices of society should place a barrier betwixt them and those honest and praiseworthy efforts.[105]

Mrs. Ellis would rather see a girl working for her father's business than remaining at home, "the occupants of elegant drawing rooms, with little else to do than practice their music lessons, [or] manufacture their wax flowers. ."[106] Finally, wrote Mrs. Ellis,

mothers should attempt to make religious faith the basis of their daughters' moral character.

The role of mother was a significant role indeed. As well as having assumed all the responsibilities and duties of a wife, the woman who became a mother suddenly took on the added responsibility of the care and nurturing of another human being. Not only was a mother almost solely responsible for the moral, intellectual, and social training of her children, she was also held accountable for how her children turned out. The lazy, cruel, or morally-weak adult was, Mrs. Ellis suggested, the product of a foolish or weak-charactered mother. So, not only did a mother have her own character to worry about, she also took charge of the souls and character of each and every one of her children. The memory an individual took through life of his or her mother, should have operated like a kind of second conscience,

> more tender, more forgiving, yet still more appealing than the first, in all those minor perplexities and trials of human life, where judgement, bribed by inclination, would persuade the unpracticed traveller that the most flowery path must surely be the best.[107]

For, wrote Mrs. Ellis, the closest one will ever find on earth to the idea of a guardian angel, is the memory of one's mother. Mothers, expected to serve the needs of so many, had much to live up to.

(4) Spinsters

Mrs. Ellis devoted very little space in writing to or about women who did not become wives or mothers. The reader of the 'Women of England' series learns next to nothing of the woman who never married, or of the woman who worked outside the home. Mrs. Ellis was writing to a middle-class female audience, the majority of whom did

conform to the kind of life-pattern she described in her books. Most middle-class women of the early Victorian period did marry at a relatively young age, assumed the responsibility of a household and had children. However, there were also a significant number of women who did not marry, and thus could not depend on a husband for financial support. As Duncan Crow writes:

> Sometimes there was no marriage for a young lady. Even had every marriageable man chosen a wife, there would still have been spinsters, for there were about half-a-million surplus women in Britain at this period.[108]

Anything that Mrs. Ellis did write about 'surplus women' or about women who chose alternative life styles to that of being a wife and mother, was scattered quite infrequently in brief passages throughout the books in the series.

In her preface to The Mothers of England, Mrs. Ellis wrote that:

> It was originally my intention to have added to the present work, a chapter of hints for step-mothers, and another on the consolations of Old Maids, which I am far from believing to be few, but the subject more immediately under consideration grew from its importance to the usual extent of a book.[109]

Despite the respect she had for unmarried women, Mrs. Ellis felt strongly that the positions of wife and mother were the best and most natural roles a woman could assume. A woman with a husband and family benefited from living with the more nobler nature of man, and benefited also because of the many opportunities she had to prove her love by serving her family and striving to make them happy. As Mrs. Ellis wrote: "woman is raised to a degree of moral elevation, which, in her single state, she never could have known."[110]

Despite her strong recommendation of the institutions of marriage and motherhood, Mrs. Ellis advised women to remain single rather than marry for any of the wrong reasons. A woman should never marry just to avoid remaining a spinster, nor should she marry a man of weak character or of an ungodly nature. A woman should also be wary of marrying for the sake of love alone; marriage often required more than love to hold it together. In discussing marriages motivated by the fear of remaining single, Mrs. Ellis wrote:

> for one instance of this kind occuring-amongst men, I believe there are twenty amongst women, of marriages entered into chiefly, if not entirely, from the dread of being old maids. I do not mean that the mere title of old maid constitutes the whole of the evil so much dreaded; but in connection with a single state, there are often consequences to be apprehended by women, which it requires moral courage in no trifling degree to meet calmly.[111]

Discussing further the consequences of the single state, Mrs. Ellis used as an example the woman born of a respectable family, who because she had remained single, lost the financial security and position in society that she once had:

> Perhaps she has enough to support her in decent lodgings, but she has been accustomed to invite her friends to a hospitable board to be waited upon by her father's servants, and to be somebody in his house; how then is she to settle down as a mere spinster in lodgings? -too poor to give a party, and perhaps too proud to visit where she can no longer be looked upon in society as she was before? After having been accustomed to a large family, and a comfortable home, it requires more moral courage than most people are aware of, for a woman to live alone in humble lodgings, and yet feel neither dissatisifed nor degraded.[112]

In her advice to the mothers of England, Mrs. Ellis recommended that they allow their daughters to secure employment. Mrs. Ellis's

comments on employment for women were interesting; while she encouraged women to withstand the 'opinions of the world' by acquiring a useful occupation, she also stressed the importance of women maintaining their distinct nature and avowedly discrediting any notions of equality or 'sameness' between men and women. Woman was not called upon, as was man, "to calculate, to compete [or] to struggle;" she did not require any very intense intellectual education, and nor should she desire any kind of distinction. About the love of distinction, Mrs. Ellis wrote: "In man this passion is ambition. In woman, it is a selfish desire to stand apart from the many."[113] Still, Mrs. Ellis argued strongly for allowing women to "make their own living," and for society to make it "less agonizing to the nerves of a young lady to go out." Mrs. Ellis suggested that the prejudices of society only served to

> condemn to females of this class [middle] so often to suffering helplessness and dependence, and in short, to moral degradation; for what can more effectively destroy all sense of moral dignity, than to be penniless, powerless, hopeless, and unoccupied.[114]

English society would soon be divided into four classes, predicted Mrs. Ellis, and therefore, the second class of females at least should be so trained as to take part in an "extended sphere of active and useful occupation."[115] Mrs. Ellis did not feel that all spheres of occupation should be opened to women; literature, for example, was not a natural channel for woman's feelings. Spheres of occupation that Mrs. Ellis did recommend for women included: fancy millinery, engraving, drawing patterns, and becoming a governess. These first three occupations, wrote Mrs. Ellis, "are by no means polluting to the touch, or degrading to the mind."[116] About the class of governesses, Mrs. Ellis wrote:

> In this class, taken as a whole, is to be found more refinement of mind, and consequently more susceptibility of feeling, than in any other.[117]

Why should such an occupation be considered a degradation?, asked Mrs. Ellis, when

> the duty of educating the young is universally acknowledged to be the most important which can devolve upon any human being, at the same time that it requires the highest mental attainments.[118]

In the 'Woman of England' series, Mrs. Ellis wrote little else to or about the women who might fit under this 'other' category. What she did write remains in essentially the same vein as that which she wrote to and about daughters, wives, and mothers. Even in her recommendation that women be allowed to work, Mrs. Ellis was really only emphasizing her belief that women must never let themselves become idle, or a burden on their families and husbands. By keeping themselves occupied, women could help themselves, and at the same time, help their families by bringing in some extra money. Finally, Mrs. Ellis was generally considering these occupations for young women prior to their marriages. Once married, a woman had more than enough to occupy her time and talents in her position as the mistress of a household. As Francoise Basch writes:

> The doctrine of 'equality in difference', still aimed at maintaining the superiority of the dominant or oppressor group, did not cut across the dogma of male superiority, and thus left intact the foundations of patriarchal society.[119]

The most frequent advice Mrs. Ellis gave to women, echoed in all four books of the 'Women of England' series, was for women to render service. By rendering service, women pleased others, and in pleasing others the primary duty of a woman's life was accomplished. Throughout

their lives, women must strive to please God, their parents, their husbands, their families, and their fellow-men; whatever their position in life was, be it a daughter, a wife, a mother, or a spinster, the woman's reference was always to others first and to herself last. In the four books in the series, Mrs. Ellis attempted to show women how they could make self-sacrifice and service to others the ruling force in their own lives. Whether one was a daughter, a wife, or mother, the rule for their life remained the same: think of others' happiness first and by personal example, influence others in a positive way. The woman's place was to fall back behind man, and let him order and lead society; woman's power lay in the moral force she exerted. Her nature was such that she was able to instinctively understand the needs in others, and was thus more easily able than man, to assist the suffering and the afflicted.

The setting in which a woman best fulfilled her natural abilities was in the home; here her organizing skills, her desire to please others, and her domestic management skills were put to their best use. The importance Mrs. Ellis attached to woman's role was great; she credited women with having a tremendous influence, for good or bad, on others, an influence that increased as a woman's circle of acquaintance widened.

A mother's influence was even greater mothers were responsible for the future because it was their duty to raise the younger generation Because of the importance Mrs. Ellis attached to the position of the middle class woman in the British society of the 1840's, she argued for a system of education that would prepare girls for the positions they would occupy. Women needed to accept the sphere of life they were

born to, and accept also, all the duties and responsibilities that accompanied their position. Acceptance was in fact a key word in Mrs. Ellis's philosophy. Women's lot was one of accepting; accepting the suffering, self-denial, and challenges that came their way, in whatever role they occupied in society. Mrs. Ellis, then, saw herself as the middle class woman's mentor, assisting her in recognizing and fulfilling the obligations and expectations that came to her as a middle-class female living in the early Victorian British society.

In the following chapter, the image of woman as depicted in a selected group of nineteenth-century periodicals will be considered. Comparisons between the image of women portrayed in Mrs. Ellis's writing will be made with the image of women put forth in these particular periodicals in order to determine how closely Mrs. Ellis did 'mirror' the thoughts of others writing about women at the same time.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER THREE

[1] Sarah Stickney Ellis, The Daughters of England (London: Peter Jackson, 1842), p. 133.

[2] Duncan Crow, The Victorian Woman (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1971), p. 48.

[3] Sarah Stickney Ellis, The Women of England (London: Fisher, Son and Co., 1839), p. 39.

[4] Sarah Stickney Ellis, The Wives of England (London: Peter Jackson, 1843), p. viii.

[5] Crow, The Victorian Woman, p. 48.

[6] Ellis, The Wives of England, p. vi.

[7] Ellis, The Daughters of England, p. 15.

[8] Ellis, The Women of England, p. 16.

[9] Ibid., p. 16.

[10] Ellis, The Daughters of England, p. 139.

[11] Ellis, The Wives of England, p. 85.

[12] Sarah Stickney Ellis, The Mothers of England (London: Peter Jackson, 1845), p. 67.

[13] Ellis, The Women of England, pp. 170-171.

[14] Ellis, The Mothers of England, p. 99.

[15] Ellis, The Women of England, pp. 72-73.

[16] Ibid., p. 11.

[17] Ibid., p. 79.

[18] Ibid., p. 107.

[19] Ellis, The Daughters of England, p. 11.

[20] Ibid., p. 21.

[21] Ibid., p. 17.

[22] Ibid., p. 181.

[23] Ibid., p. 104.

[24] Ibid., p. 59.

[25] Ibid., p. 46.

[26] Ibid., p. 106.

[27] Ibid., p. 273.

[28] Ibid., p. 242.

[29] Ibid., p. 303.

[30] Ibid., p. 329.

[31] Ibid., p. 335.

[32] Ibid., p. 265.

[33] Ibid., p. 260.

[34] Ellis, The Women of England, p. 240.

[35] Ibid., p. 257.

[36] Ibid., p. 261.

[37] Ibid., p. 219.

[38] Ibid., p. 218.

[39] Ellis, The Daughters of England, p. 270.

[40] Ibid., p. 283.

[41] Ibid., p. 340.

[42] Ellis, The Wives of England, p. 71.

[43] Ibid., p. 149.

[44] Ibid., p. 55.

[45] Ibid., p. 41.

[46] Ellis, The Mothers of England, p. 221.

[47] Ellis, The Wives of England, p. 185.

[48] Ibid., p. 171.

[49] Ibid., p. 85.

[50] Ellis, The Women of England, p. 223.

[51] Ellis, The Wives of England, p. 87.

[52] Ellis, The Women of England, p. 87.

[53] Ellis, The Wives of England, p. 33.

[54] Ibid., p. 162.

[55] Ibid., p. 80.

[56] Ibid., p. 81.

[57] Ibid., p. 365.

[58] Ibid., p. 56.

[59] Ibid., p. 68.

[60] Ibid., p. 92.

[61] Ibid., p. 187.

[62] Ibid., p. 117.

[63] Ibid., p. 207.

[64] Ibid., p. 188.

[65] Ibid., p. 223.

[66] Ibid., p. 224.

[67] Ibid., p. 273.

[68] Ibid., p. 226.

[69] Ellis, The Women of England, p. 279.

[70] Ellis, The Wives of England, p. 311.

[71] Ibid., p. 297.

[72] Ibid., p. 184.

[73] Ibid., p. 347.

[74] Ibid., p. 347.

[75] Ellis, The Mothers of England, p. 22.

[76] Ibid., p. 24.

[77] Ibid., p. 59.

[78] Ibid., p. 385.

[79] Ibid., p. 47.

[80] Ibid., p. 52.

[81] Ibid., p. 147.

[82] Ibid., p. 252.

[83] Ibid., p. 41.

[84] Ibid., pp. 74-75.

[85] Ibid, p. 50.

[86] Ibid., p. 34.

[87] Ibid., p. 155.

[88] Ibid., p. 366.

[89] Ibid., p. 374.

[90] Ibid., p. 17.

[91] Ibid., p. 19.

[92] Ibid., p. 93.

[93] Ibid., p. 155.

[94] Ibid., p. 269.

[95] Ibid., p. 272.

[96] Ibid., p. 246.

[97] Ibid., p. 282.

[98] Ibid., p. 291.

[99] Ibid., p. 294.

[100] Ibid., p. 343.

[101] Ibid., p. 328.

[102] Ibid., p. 330.

[103] Ibid., p. 340.

[104] Ibid., p. 357.

[105] Ibid., p. 355.

[106] Ellis, The Wives of England, p. 213.

[107] Ellis, The Mothers of England, p. 58.

[108] Crow, The Victorian Woman, p. 66.

[109] Ellis, The Mothers of England, preface.

[110] Ellis, The Wives of England, p. 121.

[111] Ellis, The Mothers of England, p. 219.

[112] Ibid., p. 220.

[113] Ellis, The Daughters of England, p. 238.

[114] Ellis, The Mothers of England, p. 356.

[115] The idea of a four class society is presented by Mrs. Ellis in The Women of England (p. 175). Her theory is that England's class system will expand to include four classes - an upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, and lower class. The lower-middle and lower classes will assume the duties of a working class, and the women of the lower-middle class, wrote Mrs. Ellis, should be trained to fulfill useful occupations outside of the home.

[116] Ibid., p. 346.

[117] Ellis, The Mothers of England, p. 353.

[118] Ibid., p. 353.

[119] Francoise Basch, Relative Creatures (London: Allen Lane, 1974), p. 115.

CHAPTER 4

THE POPULAR PERIODICAL AND THE IMAGE OF WOMAN

The nineteenth century was the golden age for the periodical. An increasingly literate and industrial society demanded the production of a wide variety of periodicals that would cater to the different interest groups composing it. The periodical became an important vehicle of communication; through it, politicians, statesmen, social thinkers, and givers of advice like Mrs. Ellis could reach and share their ideas with a large number of the population at one time. For the scholar today, interested in grasping some of the thoughts and feelings of those living in the nineteenth century, the periodicals of the nineteenth century are an invaluable source to turn to. Their advantage over other sources of nineteenth-century thought such as books is, perhaps, especially evident when one is interested in learning the thoughts about a particular subject during a particular time period within the nineteenth-century framework as a whole. The periodicals provide the present-day student with a sense of immediacy about the past, and as well they generally present one with more than one side of the issue being studied. Because nineteenth-century periodicals were often partisan and bound to the interests of a particular group, a cross-section of periodicals often reveal a cross-section of views being printed about any given topic. The nineteenth-century was certainly not a century characterized or typified by any one group or by uniformity of thought; to understand the century is to appreciate the diversity that existed within it. The periodicals enable one to become acquainted with the diversity a particular topic engendered, and in this way, to grasp more fully the thought and beliefs of those who lived in the nineteenth century.

The intent of this chapter is to look at a cross-section of periodicals published between 1840 and 1845, the same years that Mrs. Ellis's 'Women of England' series appeared, in order to learn what Mrs. Ellis's contemporaries were saying about women. Mrs. Ellis's views on women were obviously widely read and respected, but she was certainly not the only person writing to and about women. To determine just how representative Mrs. Ellis's portrayal of the early nineteenth-century woman was, her thoughts about the role and nature of women will be compared with what was being written about women in contemporary periodicals. A significant discrepancy between the periodicals' portrayal of women and Mrs. Ellis's portrayal of women would suggest that views about women were not uniform in early Victorian society, and that Mrs. Ellis's views cannot be necessarily accepted as being those adopted by all Victorians.

(1) Description of Procedure

The periodicals studied include one British woman's magazine published more for the upper middle to upper class lady, another British periodical that catered to a 'family readership' rather than just to women alone, and finally, three periodicals published only once a year and designed primarily as gift books for women. Also surveyed briefly were some of the popular leading 'general-audience' periodicals printed between 1840 and 1845. For the first three periodicals, the woman's, the family, and the annuals, a content analysis was carried out for each issue published in one year to determine what the subject matter of the magazine was and how much of the magazine was typically devoted to topics about or pertaining to women. Each article or item of reasonable length (at least 100 words) was fitted into one of

eight categories, these being: (1) Information on other countries, (2) Book reviews, (3) Biography/memoir, (4) Natural history, science, (5) General interest, non-fiction articles, (6) History, (7) Fiction, and (8) Poetry. It is significant that the woman's magazine and the annuals needed far fewer categories for their material than did the more general family-audience periodical. Each item in an issue of a periodical was placed in only one category despite the fact that some overlapping could occur. An article on the history of another country's culture, for example, would fit into both the category of other countries and the category of history; the decision as to which category to place it in was based on the primary focus of the article. It was important that each item was placed in only one category rather than several in order to make the determination of how much of the magazine pertained to women clearer and more accurate. Placing one item or article in more than one category would only serve to inflate the size of the issue, making one think the periodical contained more items and articles than it in reality did.

Once the items and articles of each issue were classified as belonging to one of the eight categories, the next step was to determine whether or not each item contained something about women. If the item did say something pertaining to women, a further content analysis was undertaken. The major female characters in an item were defined according to the same categories that Mrs. Ellis used, those of mother, wife, daughter, and spinster. Again, although some overlapping of these categories could also exist, each female character was placed in only one category. The decision as to which category a woman fitted into depended largely on which of her roles was focussed on in the

article. A woman, for example, who was both a mother and wife would be placed in the category that was most featured in the subject or theme of the item. Was she significant to the story, the poem, the biography, etc. because of her role as a mother or her role as a wife? If determining this was very difficult, the placing of women into categories had to be done somewhat arbitrarily. A note would then be made to indicate that the character could fit easily into both categories. Young, unmarried women still living at home and under the guardianship of parents or equivalent figures of authority were classified as 'Daughters', while older single women well past the average marrying age of their teens and twenties, were classified as 'Spinsters'. All major female characters in an item were classified into one of the above four categories, so it was possible for one item to have representative female characters placed in all four categories.

After having classified each item into a subject category, determining next if the item said anything to or about women, and then classifying the women written about into one of four categories, a further classification process took place. To determine the similarities and differences that existed between Mrs. Ellis's portrayal of women, and the periodicals' portrayal of women, some way of charting this kind of information was needed. Each female character in the periodical items that had been placed into either the category of wife, mother, daughter, or spinster had to be also classified according to her similarity of dissimilarity with the "Mrs. Ellis' type woman, as described in her "Women of England' series. However, 'like' the Mrs. Ellis woman, or 'unlike' the Mrs. Ellis woman were considered unsuitable categories, too broad to be of much use. On the other hand developing

too many categories could become confusing and unclear. In the end, five categories were developed. They are as follows:

(1) Sentimental (S) - This category described the woman who was ruled more by love than reason or duty. She would often think of herself first, before considering the needs of others and was also often described as a frivolous or silly character. Although this character may have been depicted positively, her only really significant character trait was that she always acted on the impulse of love.

(2) Mrs. Ellis woman (E) - The females written about and characterized in the periodicals who embodied many and most of the attributes Mrs. Ellis urged women to acquire in her 'Woman of England' series were classified as the 'Mrs. Ellis' woman. The most important criterion used to classify a female into this 'E' category was her adherence to the 'ideal of service' so strongly recommended by Mrs. Ellis. Those women who sacrificed their own happiness in order to ensure the happiness of others, who acted from a sense of duty rather than from any other impulse, and who did not let notions of love and romance detract from their duties, were classified as Mrs. Ellis women.

(3) The Professional woman (P) - This category was designed for those women described in the periodicals who were involved with occupations and careers outside of the home. Women who had chosen alternatives to that of being wives and mothers, and who had managed to become involved in spheres outside of home and family were placed in this category. This category does not include women of the working class, many of whom were forced to labour in occupations outside the home. This study is limited as much as possible to a consideration of the middle class woman, as this is the class of woman Mrs. Ellis was writing to and about. A

study that considered more than one class of nineteenth century women would have to utilize many more sources and references than those in this particular study.

(4) Weak Character (WC) - Those women in the periodicals possessed of some significant character flaw were placed in this category. Their flaw had to be something more serious than mere silliness or flightiness. The woman of weak character was not simply silly or frivolous; she was instead described as a bad woman, an immoral woman, or an unnatural woman. If she was a wife, she was a bad wife, incapable of meeting the expectations placed upon her. She was the mother who neglected her children, or the daughter who refused to listen to her parents; in her actions, she was a woman who hurt others. Women, in the nineteenth century, were frequently viewed as dichotomous Mary/Eve sort of characters; they were often described as being either the great moralizing and purifying force in society or else they were the evil temptresses seeking to bring about man's downfall. Those females classified as 'weak characters' epitomize in many ways this Eve-like perception of women.

(5) Independent Women (Ind) - This final classification was designed as a category for those women who were depicted as very independent characters, making their own decisions in life and doing pretty much as they pleased. However, they were not the same as the 'professional' category of women; their independence was not the result of possessing careers and occupations outside the home. The independent woman may or may not have been a wife and mother; her independence was perhaps one of attitude more than anything else. She was not so much ruled by love or by duty, as she was by wanting to pull some of her own strings in life.

Finally, after deciding what type of woman was represented in the periodical items, the attempt was made to judge whether or not the 'tone' of the item or article was approving of the kind of woman being presented. Again, this kind of observation was not always possible and so in some cases, no notation of approval or disapproval could be made. A special note was also made if the woman characterized or described in an item belonged to a class other than the middle class. As mentioned, most of this study involved only the women of the middle class. It is important to remember also that the five categories of women would undoubtedly have parts of their character that could be fitted into each category. However, there was usually enough information given to suggest in which category the woman being written about belonged. The way a character fared at the end of a story or poem, or the words the author of an article used to describe the women being written about were usually indication enough of the degree of approval or disapproval of the woman being described. If it was not possible to assume a category for a female of any item, then this was indicated on the chart.

A sample chart follows. For each of the first five periodicals looked at (the woman's, the family, and the three annuals), eight subject-matter charts were produced. The charts were designed to record the content analysis data derived from one year's issues of a periodical. The numbers down the left margin of the chart correspond with a numbered list of the titles of the items looked at, and in what issue they could be found. As well as the title and location, a brief description of the content of the item was also included with this list. For each item, the major female characters were classified first as being either a mother, a wife, a daughter, or a spinster. In the

SAMPLE CHART — SUBJECT (either poetry, fiction, biography, etc.)

	MOTHER	WIFE		DAUGHTER		SPINSTER
1		E	A	S	D	
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						
17						
18						
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20						
21						
22						
23						
24						
25						
26						
27						
28						
29						
30						
31						
32						
33						
34						

appropriate column on the chart, these women were then further classified as being: sentimental (S), a Mrs. Ellis woman (E), professional (P), of weak character (WC), independent (Ind), or some combination of the above. This notation was made in the left hand part of each column, while on the right side of the dotted line in each column the approval (A) or disapproval (D) of the woman just described was noted. Item number one on this chart was filled in as an example. In item one, there were two significant females being written about, a wife and a daughter. The wife was a 'Mrs. Ellis' type woman, and received the approval of the author, while the daughter was classified as being the 'sentimental' type and did not receive the approval of the author. As mentioned, the content analysis was completed for only a one year period for each of the five periodicals looked at. However, all the issues of these periodicals published between the years of 1840 and 1845 were looked at in order that a more complete understanding could be obtained of the various periodicals' attitudes towards women.

The content analysis charts for each of the periodicals studied can be found in the first appendix to this study. Information obtained from these charts has been transferred to tables that are incorporated into the text of this chapter. For each of the woman's periodical, the family periodical, and the three annuals, there are two tables that indicate the following:

(1) The subject classification of the items (poetry, fiction, etc.), and the number and 'type' of females described or characterized in the item (sentimental, professional, etc.).

(2) The role classification (mother, wife, etc.) of each female character type, and whether the approval or disapproval of the author is indicated.

The content analysis of the periodicals undertaken for this study is admittedly of a fairly simplistic type, with only limited statistics applied and a fairly small sample studied. Despite this, the content analysis tables are very useful for illustrating in some quantitative fashion what the content of the periodicals was, and, in particular, what and how much was being written about women. The format of this study is literary descriptive history rather than quantitative history and the content analysis charts and tables are a way of verifying and clarifying this type of descriptive history.

(2) The New Monthly Belle Assemblee

The woman's periodical looked at was titled the New Monthly Belle Assemblee, and it appeared with the following sub-title: "A Magazine of Literature and Fashion under the Immediate Patronage of HRH the Duchess of Kent." The New Monthly Belle Assemblee ran from 1834 to 1870 and was published monthly in London, England. Its editor was Mrs. Cornwall Baron-Wilson. In her book entitled Women's Magazine 1693-1968, Cynthia White wrote the following about the New Monthly Belle Assemblee:

> The magazine, which enjoyed the patronage of the Duchess of Kent, was dignified, correct, and morally vigilant. Designed purely for entertainment, it carried a large proportion of fiction, all of which was intended as a vehicle for moral teaching. Every story carried its lesson, usually the triumph of good over bad, the pious and virtuous over the vain and heartless, or the folly of idleness and extravagance contrasted with the rectitude of diligence and charity. Frequently, the writer would pause in the narrative to deliver a warning or an exhortation.[1]

The content analysis was carried out on the 1841, vol. 14, issues of the magazine. The following list indicates how many items from

the 1841 issues were placed in each of the eight subject categories, and, of these, how many were about women.

(1) Information on Other Countries: 7 items, but none of these pertained to women.

(2) Book Reviews: 74 items and 6 of these pertained to women. It was significant to observe that although many of the books reviewed were written by women, the topics of these books did not necessarily refer to or concern women only.

(3) Biography/Memoir: 5 items and all 5 were about women. This category overlapped with the book review category as many of the books reviewed in the section: "Our Boudoir Table; or, Glances at New Publications" included reviews of books of the memoir/biography type.

(4) Natural History/Science: 5 items and 1 of the items pertained to women.

(5) General Interest, Non-fiction: There were no specific items in this category although each issue of the periodical contained one or two pages devoted to discussing current concerts, and theatrical productions. As well, each monthly issue discussed fashions for the month, complete with picture plates illustrating the various fashions.

(6) History: There were no items for this category although books about history were reviewed in the book review section. Examples of such books reviewed include: The History of France, The Romance of Jewish History, and Cattermole's Historical Annual.

(7) Fiction: 62 items of fiction with 46 of these pertaining to women.

(8) Poetry: 115 poems and 33 of these pertained to women.

Obviously, most of the items in the New Monthly Belle Assemblee were either fiction or poetry; 177 of 268 items in the periodical were

fiction or poetry, while the other six categories made up only a small part of the magazine. The large amount of fiction and poetry that the magazine contained supports Cynthia White's observation that the main purpose of the New Monthly Belle Assemblee was to entertain. Further indication of what the intentions and stance of the magazine were is evident in a section that appeared in most issues entitled "To Correspondents." In this particular section, the editors of the magazine printed brief messages to individuals who had submitted some item to the periodical for publication. The contributors were identified only by initial, and the comments made to them by the editors provide some interesting insights into the editorial policy of the magazine. Following, are some examples of the notes that were written to correspondents.

> C. C. - The next time this person, who dates his communication from Great Totham Hall, Essex, feels inclined to write indelicate verses, we hope he will send them to some publication more suited to such trash than ours. There are plenty in the neighbourhood of the Strand ready to bestow such laurels as infamy can give.[2]
>
> C. C. - Is informed that we do not make our pages the vehicle of puffs or matrimonial advertisements.[3]
>
> S. R. I. O. - The libel on women is declined. Our correspondent brings such poems to a wrong market (if we may use a mercantile phrase).[4]
>
> We beg to acknowledge the receipt of medical works, all excellent and useful of their kind, but quite unsuited for notice in such a magazine of light literature as the Belle Assemblee.[5]
>
> G. - We are of the "feminine gender", and therefore decline politics, as quite unsuited to the sex.[6]

> G. G. - Adopt a proper course of reading for a few months, think less of love and more of reason, and you will write better poetry.[7]

'A magazine of light literature' was how the editor described the Belle Assemblee; the magazine's main purpose was to entertain and amuse its reading audience. Still, as Cynthia White has suggested, a great deal of moral teaching can be accomplished through the vehicle of 'light literature.'

Looking at Table 1, it is interesting to note that almost all the women characters written about in this magazine could be categorized as either the 'Mrs. Ellis' type or the 'sentimental' type. 77 of the 91 females described in the Belle Assemblee belonged to these two categories. 9 of the 91 females described were 'Weak-Character' types, 4 were of the 'Independent' type, and only one female belonged to the 'Professional' category. Table 2 shows the female role (daughter, wife, etc.) distribution for each of the five female types, and indicates as well, the approval or disapproval of the author for each female character.

For the most part, the magazine upheld the view of women that Mrs. Ellis had, sharing with her basic tenets about how women should behave and what their role consisted of. Table 2 indicates that 40 female characters were depicted as Mrs. Ellis types and all were approved of by the authors; 37 females belonged to the Sentimental type, with 24 of the females receiving the approval of the authors and 13 being disapproved of; the 1 Professional type woman depicted was approved of; 3 Independent female types were approved of while 1 was disapproved of; and all 9 of the Weak-Character female types represented in the Belle Assemblee received the author's disappoval. It is

	Senti-mental	Mrs. Ellis	Profess-ional	Weak Charac.	Indep-endent	TOTAL
Info. on other countries	0	0	0	0	0	0
Book Reviews	3	1	0	0	0	4
Biog./Memoir	0	4	0	0	0	4
Natural Hist.	0	1	0	0	0	1
Gen, Interest, Non-fiction	0	0	0	0	0	0
History	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fiction	18	20	1	6	4	49
Poetry	16	14	0	3	0	33
TOTAL	37	40	1	9	4	91

TABLE I Female Type and Subject Area: New Monthly Belle Assemblee

	Senti-mental		Mrs. Ellis		Profess-ional		Weak Charac.		Indep-endent		TOTAL
	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	
Daughter	23	10	25	0	0	0	0	3	2	1	64
Wife	1	3	9	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	17
Mother	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	9
Spinster	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	24	13	40	0	0	1	0	9	3	1	91

TABLE II Female Roles and Types and the Approval or Disapproval of the author - New Monthly Belle Assemblee

important to realize that although the magazine often depicted 'sentimental' female types ruled by love rather than reason, the tone of the writer was frequently disapproving. The last note to a contributor quoted above stated quite clearly a criticism of those who thought more of love than reason.

This insistence that women think more of the duty and service owed to others, rather than notions of love and their own happiness is to be found in both Mrs. Ellis's books and the Belle Assemblee. It suggests that the 'sentimental' type of woman was felt to be very evident in early Victorian society, that women felt love was essential to their marriage relationship, and that their personal happiness and feelings had to be considered. Mrs. Ellis was not entirely opposed to this idea, but she saw in this growing emphasis on love and self, a threat to the family and to the ordering of society in general. Society, for Mrs. Ellis, depended on each of its separate components fulfilling its obligations and duties and, in this way, serving the best interests of the 'whole.' For society to run smoothly, then, England's class system had to be strictly maintained; any blending of the classes Mrs. Ellis would argue, would only serve to weaken society. As she wrote about England's class structure:

> In no other country is society thus beautifully proportioned and England should beware of any deviation from the order and symmetry of her national column.[8]

Likewise, each member of the family had to know what his duties were, and how to best meet these expectations. A woman's place was in the home; the major purpose of her life was to serve others, and to accept completely her lot in life. Any change in how women perceived their role or purpose in life threatened this smooth ordering of the family

and of society in general. The woman who was thinking too much of love and her own happiness could well be neglecting her other duties and obligations. Mrs. Ellis repeatedly emphasized the importance of women thinking of others' needs and wants before their own; their lot, wrote Mrs. Ellis, was often "to suffer and be still." Therefore, the 'sentimental' type woman worried Mrs. Ellis and the editors of the Belle Assemblee; in her own seemingly innocent way, the 'sentimental' woman was rejecting in some way the ideal of service and self-sacrifice that Mrs. Ellis and others so fervently believed was essential to the survival of the family and society. Mrs. Ellis wrote to the women of England to convince them of the necessity of their adopting this ideal because she was afraid of what would happen if women denied its validity. It was easier for Mrs. Ellis to criticize those women who overtly rejected the ideas that they were inferior to men, and that their prime reason for being created was so they could render service to others. Women who claimed an equality with men, who demanded 'rights' and entrance into male-dominated spheres could be dismissed as being unnatural or quite silly. It was much more difficult for Mrs. Ellis to explain what was wrong with women 'listening to their hearts' rather than to their heads, and how wanting to find love might detract from a woman's duties. The final result was a compromise of sorts; Mrs. Ellis agreed that love should be a part of every marriage and of every woman's life, but it should never assume so much importance that it overshadowed the ideals of service and self-sacrifice that were essential to the role of women. Love becomes something that is earned, argued Mrs. Ellis, rather than 'fallen into.' It was an added benefit for the woman who truly cared more for the happiness of others than she did for

herself. Too great a preoccupation with notions of love and romance were the traits of a selfish and neglectful woman. It was not so much the desire for love that Mrs. Ellis or the editors of the Belle Assemblee were opposed to; it was rather what an extreme desire for love and romance did to women. It made them, they believed, selfish, vain, jealous of other women, and filled their heads with "fairy-tale" notions about life.

The editors of the Belle Assemblee experienced just these difficulties with how to present the 'sentimental' type of woman. However, finding a compromise between allowing some sentiment and prescribing the ideal of service and duty for women was not as clearly done in the periodical as it was in Mrs. Ellis's books. Table 2 indicates that in the sentimental category, there were 33 daughters, 4 wives, no mothers and no spinsters represented. The result was interesting although confusing, for as the content analysis tables reveal, the Belle Assemblee frequently both approved and disapproved of the 'sentimental' type of woman. The confusion the periodical revealed no doubt mirrored a similar confusion in society; there should be love and happiness in a woman's life, but this should not become more significant than those duties and obligations which were inherent in the woman's role. Thus, one reads frequent stories or poems in the Belle Assemblee that contained as their moral a warning against relying on the emotion of love too much, while at the same time poems that praised the wonder of love and stories of romance also appeared frequently in the same issue. Also, while telling women that vanity and frivolous thought were the great faults of women, the Belle Assemblee continued to publish pages of monthly fashion 'updates', and romantic poems, stories and items that

would seem to have only contributed to such vain and frivolous thought.

The message was confusing. For example, one reads the following in an 1841 issue of the periodical:

> We seriously advise all "sentimental young ladies" to become rational as soon as possible - to remember that colds wantomly caught, sometimes end in consumption - a love idly bestowed, in disappointment - and that wasted affections wear themselves out, and leave the heart a wreck.[9]

A poem that appeared in an 1842 issue of the periodical contained the following advice:

> O, maiden, beware
> Of the love that is breathed in the moonlit bowers,
> For 'twill fade as soon as the gathered flowers![10]

Finally, in an 1843 issue one reads that

> all that remains of love, when its illusions are dispelled is a broken heart, a faded flower, a mind over which a gloomy shade is cast, and often a heart longing for the peaceful, passionless grave.[11]

In the same periodical, the following adoring tributes to love appeared:

> It was first love, and never again shall I feel the same sensations as those that then placed me on the very verge of an earthly paradise. Oh! those moments of unutterable joy! - of feelings that had more of heaven than earth in their composition![12]

The following poem appeared in an 1842 issue of the periodical:

> What is love? Oh! this is bliss supreme,
> That draws us nearer to the Infinite!
> Love? It is life in life, joy above joy;
> Hope beyond hope, exquisite, soul-felt
> harmony. It is two souls which interbreathe
> together - Two souls blended into one - an
> angel;
> It is the perfume and flower of life;
> An incarnation of the beautiful and good-
>
> 'Tis heaven on earth - 'tis bliss, all
> perfect sympathy![13]

Looking more carefully at the content analysis tables, it is evident that the category of women most written about in the magazine was the 'daughter/sister' category; 64 of the 91 female characters written about in the 1841 issues of the Belle Assemblee belonged to this role-category. The magazine catered to younger women, and thus wrote to and about them more than any other category of female. 17 of the 91 females described were wives, 9 were mothers and only 1 was a spinster.

The author's approval or disapproval of the female characters was sometimes difficult to determine. Often, the fate of the character in the story or poem indicated the author's approval or disapproval. For example, one of the fiction items in the Belle Assemblee described a 'sentimental type' woman that was disapproved of by the author. My reason for deciding that disapproval was indicated was what happened to the young girl in this particular story; after falling in love with a man she has only seen but never met, she eventually meets the man and soon realizes that he is coarse and stupid and unworthy of her love. The moral of the story was that one cannot judge someone by appearance alone, and young women should be careful about whom they choose to love. It was the sentimental characteristic of not taking love seriously enough that seemed to upset so many of the authors who wrote for the Belle Assemblee.

There were a number of female characters who possessed both the traits of a 'sentimental' type woman and a 'Mrs. Ellis' type woman. In the stories or poems with female characters of this type, there was usually a sensible and dutiful female presented who was involved in some sort of love story. In almost every item where this type of female character was presented, the approval of the author for this

character was apparent; almost always, the situation in the story or poem ended happily for this type of woman. Depending on which aspect of the female's character was featured in a particular item, the female was placed in either the 'sentimental' or the 'Mrs. Ellis' category. However, the importance placed on love and romance in these particular stories meant that the characters in the stories possessed a somewhat more sentimental nature than the strictly 'Mrs. Ellis' type of character. Their feelings, more than their reason, directed the course of action they chose to take.

Occasionally the items contained an independent type of female character. The fact that there were so few of this female type represented in the stories and poems of the Belle Assemblee is significant in itself. There were four Independent types presented (see Table 2); 3 were daughters, 1 was a wife, none were mothers, and none were spinsters. Of the four Independent females, 3 received the approval of the author while 1 was disapproved of. One can assume from this that such females were rare in Victorian society generally, or that the editors of the Belle Assemblee did not want to encourage any patterning by their female readers after this type of woman. The best example of an independent-type woman is found in a story about a woman named Seraphina who aggressively acquired an intellectual education, while neglecting at the same time to learn all that a woman should know. "She knew not", wrote the author of the story,

> that a woman is placed in society to please rather than to dazzle, and that to be agreeable is her duty while to be admired is only her privilege.

Because of Seraphina's indifference to her personal appearance and her lack of knowledge of womanly duties, she was rejected by her suitor.

The final paragraph of the story told the reader of Seraphina's sad fate, and perhaps served as a warning to young ladies who were ever tempted to likewise ignore their 'womanly duties'.

> She [Seraphina] lived unloved, for her satire was as biting as her wit was keen, and in the autumn of her days, she sunk into the grave, unwept and almost unremembered.[14]

A final female character type marked in the Belle Assemblee tables was the 'weak-character' type. There were only 9 such types described, all of these were found in the poetry and fiction subject categories, and all were disapproved of by the various authors. Because of the small representation of this type of woman in the magazine, it is difficult to draw many conclusions. It was interesting to note that several females of weak character belonged to a category other than daughter; perhaps this suggests that an older woman's character weaknesses could not be so easily dismissed as vanity or pride resulting from an abundance of 'sentimentality' as it could be in the case of a younger woman. After surveying the excerpts collected from all three years of the periodical, it appears that the most frequently described female of weak character was the unfaithful or unloving wife. An example of such a wife is described in an 1842 issue:

> She had married an old man, not for love, but for interest; had led him what is generally called the life of a dog; flattered him in public, and boxed his ears in private.[15]

Mentioned only occasionally in any issues of the Belle Assemblee was the Professional woman. Other than Seraphina mentioned above in the Independent category, no other female character even approached this particular category. However, when surveying excerpts from all three years of the Belle Assemblee, several scattered references to

women of the professional category could be found. Women of the working class, although not really a part of the professional women of the middle and upper-middle classes, were mentioned in the magazine. Needlewomen, factory workers, the pastry-cook girl and even opera ballet girls were some of the working women described. In almost every item in which they appeared, the author was pleading with his or her readers to consider the needs and situations of such women. As one contributor wrote:

> Young ladies of England, ye who move amid the circles of fashion - who are surrounded by luxury, courted, admired, and flattered - do you sometimes think of the wasted forms who toil at the looms to weave your costly robes?...Do you ever see for yourselves the want and the misery which surrounds you?[16]

Echoing the concerns Mrs. Ellis voiced about governesses, items which appeared in the Belle Assemblee described the plight of these women as well. Like Mrs. Ellis, the writers for the magazine discussed the excellent education and willingness to work hard that governesses possessed, and similarily deplored the low wages and loss of station these women suffered.

An interesting difference between Mrs. Ellis and the Belle Assemblee was in their attitude towards women who wrote. Despite the fact that she herself wrote, Mrs. Ellis believed that most 'women of literature' attracted too much attention to themselves, and should not be encouraged to continue writing. The Belle Assemblee, however, published three or four items defending those women who wrote. In an address entitled "To Our Readers," the following message was printed:

> We have resolved, thereforth, upon henceforth giving a candid, fair, and analytical, as well as critical, account of every work, whatever its purport of pretension, which may proceed from a female pen.[17]

Two of the items published in an 1843 issue of the magazine, spoke about the talents of the women often referred to as 'Blue-Stockings'. The main defence the women themselves proposed for their being allowed to write was that their writing would not detract from their duties as daughters, wives or mothers. One writer consoled men by assuring them that no matter how much talent a female writer possessed, "a man of even moderate capactiy must be her superior."[18]

Finally, in a story published in an 1842 issue of the periodical, a female character asked why women too, should not be allowed to become Christian missionaries and like men, risk their lives for the one common cause? The answer to her question was provided by another female character who said,

> Such is not woman's province, her gentler nature was never formed for scenes of tumult and of bloodshed, the quiet walks of life are her peculiar province and there it is her happiness and her best security to abide.[19]

Little else was written about the professional woman.

Very briefly, I want to consider finally what the New Monthly Belle Assemblee had to say about women in their respective roles as daughters, wives, mothers, and spinsters.

The magazine appears to have presented two views of daughters; in the first view, they were described as the 'sentimental' girl, coquettish, vain, and silly in a harmless sort of way. The second view was one in which the young girls were credited with possessing such womanly qualities as tenderness, even temperament, sympathy, meekness, and patience. Although there appears to have been a certain amount of tolerance for the coquettish young female, the message was clear: if they were to marry, young women had to concentrate on de-

veloping those attributes discussed above in the second view. A number of stories that appeared in the Belle Assemblee brought this message home to the young female writers; the girl chosen as the wife in these stories was not the gay or beautiful coquette, but was instead the often plain but good young woman. As a male character in one such story said about his choice of a wife: "she does not in the least resemble my beau-ideal of a wife, but she is something better, for she is a tender, truthful, devoted woman."[20]

Young women were also encouraged by writers for the Belle Assemblee to acquire knowledge and education while they were still young. The belief was, as it had been in Mrs. Ellis's writing, that women needed both a certain amount of intellectual training as well as a practical education. The suggestion was also made by at least two different writers that a woman who had received intellectual training would consequently be less of a sentimental and frivolous-type person.[21] Little was said in the magazine about how a daughter should behave toward her parents, other than that she should love them, and show them a "spirit of submission." Two poems appeared in the magazine on the subject of a sister's love for her brother, and in both poems sisters were described as 'angels' whose love for their brothers was both pure and unending.[22]

An oft-repeated message in the magazine to those women about to become wives was that marriage was not always a happy experience. Young brides were warned that they must appease their husbands in all matters in order to maintain happiness in their marriage, and that their lot in life would often be a difficult one. The following verse from the poem "The Bride" expressed this warning that was found in several items about wives in the Belle Assemblee.

> Fair bride! thou knowst not all the varied ills
> That may o'ertake thee! all the painful hours-
> The pangs of hope deferred, - the blighting chills
> That sometimes visit e'en Love's fairest flowers,
> And steal away their fragrance - nor the woes
> Woman untold must bear, that wreck her heart's repose.[23]

Perhaps these warnings were intended in part for the 'sentimental' female who looked forward to the romance of marriage without considering the seriousness and responsibility it involved as well.

Wives were frequently reminded that their husbands appreciated a wife who maintained a neat personal appearance, and an orderly household. Again echoeing Mrs. Ellis, women were told that their behavior during courtship should not be such that it would change for the worse once they were married. One biting but humorous poem described the unhappy marriage of a couple who, in turn, accused each other of changing terribly after their marriage.[24] Women were told that as wives, they should 'scrupulously' perform their duties, cultivate a meek and patient spirit, and minister to the happiness of others. Mrs. Ellis would have undoubtedly approved of such advice.

Finally, the reverence Mrs. Ellis attached to the English fireside and home, and the woman's position within the home, was reflected also in the Belle Assemblee. The home was glowingly described in the periodical as the haven of love and refuge for the family, and the wife was credited as being the "presiding and directing mistress of the establishment." The following excerpt from an 1841 item expresses this credit bestowed upon women, by both Mrs. Ellis and the periodical, for their part in making the home so special:

> And it is the influence which women possesses
> over the minds of those who style themselves
> her masters which makes happy homes and joyous
> hearths, which purifies, refines, and blesses
> both herself and those on whom it descends.[25]

Although mothers were not mentioned often in the Belle Assemblee (9% of the females described in the 1841 issues of the Belle Assemblee were mothers), most of that which was written about them was very flattering. Several poems were published about a mother's love for her child, praising the natural bond that existed between the two. Mothers were also credited with having a powerful influence on their children that could endure for the child's entire life. In both stories and poems, the idea that one's memory of their mother would serve as a kind of second conscience throughout life was presented:

> Many times when the heedlessness of youth would have led me into error, has that sweet voice [of my mother] now hushed forever, intermingled with my thoughts, and, like the rosy links of a fairy chain, drawn me from my purpose.[26]

The mothers who were criticized in the magazine were those overly 'sentimental' mothers, and mothers of weak character. The sentimental mother spoiled her child, indulging its every whim for fear she would lose her child's love. The weak-charactered mother was described in one item as being too authoritarian and essentially unconcerned about the best and real interests of her child.

The spinster was given more attention in the Belle Assemblee than she was in Mrs. Ellis's books, although references to her in the magazine were quite scattered and very brief. In the 1841 issues of the Belle Assemblee, only one spinster appears described in the issue items. The attitude of the writers' for the magazine regarding spinsters appears to have been very similar to the attitude Mrs. Ellis had; in both cases the spinster was considered an almost pitiful individual, deserving of both sympathy and respect. The point was made in the magazine, as it had been by Mrs. Ellis, that the spinster was often the

woman who chose to remain single rather than "link her destiny with one whom her heart has not selected, or her conscience approved," and she therefore deserved to be commended rather than condemned.[27] Despite these writers' assurances that spinsterhood was quite respectable, the idea of remaining single was apparently distasteful to many women. One writer wrote that spinsters were a "too often ridiculed and maligned class of society," while another writer discussed the 'odium' that was attached to the single state. The following excerpt was from a story that appeared in an 1841 issue of the Belle Assemblee:

> Miss Crawley actually shuddered; the appellation of "old maid" was, above all things, what she dreaded and sooner would she have linked her fate with a beggar that be, what she deemed, stigmatized by it.[28]

(3) The Mirror

The second periodical studied was entitled The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction. It began publication in November of 1822, after having assured the British Parliament that it would not publish items of a political or theological nature. The Mirror had many editors; for the period from 1840 to 1845 its editor was John Timbs. The Mirror was intended as a more general, family-oriented magazine, catering to the middle and lower middle labouring classes.

The content analysis of the Mirror was done for the year 1840, and the tables reveal that this periodical contained a more varied subject content than did the Belle Assemblee. The number of items in each category, and the number of items that pertained to women were as follows:

(1) Information on Other Countries: 65 items, 8 items related to women.

(2) Book Reviews: 56 items, 11 items related to women.

(3) Biography/Memoir: 93 items, 12 items related to women.

(4) Natural History: 120 items, none of these related to women.

(5) General Interest/Non-Fiction: 204 items, 20 items related to women.

(6) History: 56 items, 5 items related to women.

(7) Fiction: 62 items, 22 items related to women.

(8) Poetry: 95 items, 25 items related to women.

The reason the Mirror had so many more items than the Belle Assemblee was that the Mirror's published items were much shorter in length than the longer serial fiction items that were published in the Belle Assemblee. Also, for this study there were a greater number of issues of the Mirror studied for the content analysis tables than there had been for the Belle Assemblee. The statistics derived from these charts indicate that for the Mirror, as had been the case in the Belle Assemblee, women figure most prominently in the fiction and poetry items. 45% of the females described in the Mirror belonged to either the fiction or poetry subject categories. 23% of the females described were from the Non-fiction cateogry, 13% from the Book Reviews section, 10% from the Biography/Memoir section, 6% from the subject of Information from Other Countries, 3% from the History section, and there were no females written about in the Natural History/Science section of the 1840 issues of the Mirror.

As is indicated in the tables, the predominant female type portrayed in the Mirror was once again the 'Mrs. Ellis' type and the 'sentimental' type of woman, with only a scattering of the other three types presented in the magazine. 55 of the 103 female characters described in the Mirror were of the Sentimental type, 39 were Mrs. Ellis types, 3 were Professional types, 4 Weak-Character types were portrayed, and 2 of the females were Independent types. When the excerpts

	Senti-Mental	Mrs. Ellis	Profess-ional	Weak Charac.	Indep-endent	TOTAL
Info. on other countries	2	4	0	0	0	6
Book Reviews	7	5	0	2	0	14
Biog./Memoir	5	2	3	0	1	11
Natural Hist.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gen. Interest, Non-fiction	12	11	0	0	1	24
History	1	2	0	0	0	3
Fiction	14	6	0	2	0	22
Poetry	14	9	0	0	0	23
TOTAL	55	39	3	4	2	103

TABLE III Female Type and Subject Area: Mirror

	Senti-mental		Mrs Ellis		Profess-ional		Weak Charac.		Indep-endent		TOTAL
	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	
Daughter	22	14	14	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	53
Wife	6	7	19	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	35
Mother	4	0	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	11
Spinster	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	4
TOTAL	33	22	39	0	2	1	0	4	2	0	103

TABLE IV Female Roles and Types and the Approval or Disapproval of the author - Mirror

collected from all five years of the Mirror were considered, (although a content analysis was not done for all five years,) a greater variety of female-types and information about women was obtained. The Mirror, much more than the Belle Assemblee, tended to publish items from a variety of sources which allowed for a greater range of opinion to be expressed. For example, an excerpt from Mrs. Ellis's Wives of England appeared in one issue of the magazine, while in another issue an article from the Westminster Review was reprinted; both sources displayed quite different concerns about women. The variety of content published in the Mirror included also a number of items about the lives of women in other countries, and about women in history, particularly royalty.

Interestingly enough, despite the fact that the Mirror catered to a more general family readership, it also published numerous items about love and romance. The same contradiction of warning readers to avoid becoming too sentimental while at the same time printing poems and stories that glorified love and romance was present in the Mirror, as it had been in the Belle Assemblee. Many poems were published in the Mirror that paid tribute to the glory of love; words such as bliss, heart, tender, beloved and angel figured prominently in these poems. One verse, printed in an 1843 issue of the magazine began:

> A maiden fair that never love's fire knows,
> Nor feels the gentle tumults of the heart,
> Is like a lifeless, painted waxen rose
> That ne'er does bloom or balmy scent impart.[29]

The warnings against abandoning reason for love were also as frequent, if not more so in the Mirror. Especially interesting were the numerous stories and poems printed in the magazine where the love-sick heroine, hero (and frequently both) came to a tragic end because of their love.

For example, in one story a young couple planning on eloping are shot at and the girl dies; in another story a young girl described as being "love sick literally" dies when the man she has loved so long finally proposes to her.[30] A poem tells the story of a "love-bemaddened maid" who "has lost her mind in loving all too fondly-fiercely-one!", and yet another story tells of a pair of young lovers who are forced to feign death in order to eventually run off together.[31] Young people were told by a contributor to the magazine that being in love was not reason enough to marry beneath their own class. "Satiety, indifference, and disgust," warned this contributor, "will soon succeed to the romantic ardour of the two lovers, and their affection be wholly alienated from each other."[32] A report on "statistics of lunacy" that appeared in an 1840 issue of the magazine stated that lunacy among females was due more to moral causes than physical ones. Perhaps summing up best the feelings of those writers so concerned about the effects of extreme sentimentality on young women was the following contributor's comment:

> Alas! for woman, that her heart should have such dominion over her! how many a gentle and sorrowing creature blasted and scathed by the lightnings of her own subdued affections, lives, a monument of patient endurance, sacrificing and still waiting to sacrifice all earthly honours and distinctions on the altar of love.[33]

The tragic end that so many of the overly-sentimental females met reflects somewhat the authors' disapproval of this type of female. As Table 4 for the Mirror indicates, 14 of the 36 Sentimental type daughters were disapproved of, 6 of the 13 Sentimental type wives were disapproved of, and 1 of the 2 Sentimental type Spinsters was disapproved of. There were 4 Sentimental type mothers portrayed in the 1840 issues

of the Mirror and all received the approval of the authors.

The Mrs. Ellis woman was the most approved female type presented in the Mirror; 39 of the 103 females depicted in the magazine were Mrs. Ellis types and all were approved. While there were 55 Sentimental females represented in the Mirror, only 33 of these received the approval of the authors. Of the 3 Professional female types presented, 2 were approved of and 1 was disapproved of; the 4 Weak-Character female types presented were all disapproved of, while the 2 Independent females were both approved of. Also, it is important to remember that most of the writers who wrote disapprovingly of the 'sentimental' woman were most likely approving of the Mrs. Ellis female type. Many items in the Mirror contained advice for and thoughts on women that were essentially the same as what Mrs. Ellis was saying in the 'Women of England' series. For example, items in the Mirror encouraged women to worry less about their beauty and more about developing wit and wisdom, to acquire knowledge about needlework and domestic affairs, and to be 'resigned and reconciled' to their lot in life, recognizing that the 'hand of Providence' was at work always. One poem printed in an 1844 issue of the magazine expressed sentiments Mrs. Ellis would have undoubtedly shared; in this poem, people are told that their goal for each day should be to accomplish something more than they had the day before. The final verse of the poem reads:

> Let us, then, be up and doing,
> With a heart for any fate;
> Still achieving, still pursuing,
> Learn to labour and to wait.[34]

The 'Professional' and 'Independent' types of females were presented occasionally in the Mirror; together they made up 5% of the females presented in the 1840 issues of the Mirror (3 Professional females and

2 Independent females described.) The rights of women and equality with men were topics debated on occasion in the Mirror but mentioned hardly at all in the Belle Assemblee. While most of the contributors to the Mirror argued that women were created solely as helpmates and companions for men who were to be their superiors, a few of the writers argued that women had rights other than those granted them by men and society. One writer wrote that women possess, in common with men, "a moral, rational, responsible, and therefore independent existence of their own." This same writer argued that a good, intellectual education should be made available to women, not because it would make them more agreeable and interesting companions to men, but because it was the right of every individual to have such an education. As he wrote:

> This notion of a bargain is humiliating to both parties. It cannot satisfy refined or liberal-minded men, any more than it can be agreeable to women of intelligence and spirit.[35]

A poem titled "The Female Complaint" concluded with the following verse:

> Then equal laws let custom find,
> Nor thus the sex oppress;
> More freedom granted to woman kind,
> Or give to mankind less.[36]

'Women of letters' were discussed frequently in the magazine, particularly in the form of brief biographies that outlined highlights of the woman's lives and mentioned the writing they had done. Like the Belle Assemblee, the Mirror seemed to be very much in favour of women entering the writing profession. In one item, the writer stated that women writers no longer needed to hide their talents for fear of not being read seriously. In the present English society, this contributor wrote, "the really cultivated and intellectual woman feels assured of her place in all good company."[37] Despite this writer's assurances,

one female poet was described as "shrinking from the notoriety attendant on being a professed poetess," and so she donated any money made from the sale of her poems to her family parish.[38] A sentimental view of female poets and their poetry was very much evident in an 1840 item. Women's poetry might never attain the "glorious heights and sunny grandeurs" of men's poetry wrote this author, but he added that "all histories that touch the heart, should be written alone by a woman's fingers - for over them doth she not weep?"[39]

Other professions mentioned for women in the Mirror included singing and architecture. In the item where women were encouraged to study architecture, one reads that,

> The needle becomes not the female's hand more than the pencil, nor is the music of harmonizing forms and proportions less suited to their delicate comprehensions, than the melody of dulcet sounds.[40]

A couple of very brief references were made to British women living in other countries; they may have been missionaries, although this cannot be definitely determined from the items. The plight of working women of the lower classes was described in a few items that appeared in the Mirror. A biography of a servant girl was included in one issue, and the various tasks she was responsible for in a household were listed.[41] The "innumerable ills" that young servant girls faced in large cities was the topic of discussion in another item and finally, the strongest objection to lower class women's labour was made in an 1843 article entitled "Woman Slaughter."[42] The author of this item suggested that the women employed to make shirts at the parish workhouses were slowly being slaughtered as a result of their terrible working conditions and shockingly low wages. As he further wrote:

> If the object is to reduce the female population of the country, it would be a charity to secure the sufferers the speedier and more tolerable death of hanging or drowning.[43]

Finally, the independent spirit of women in America was admired by one contributor to the Mirror particularly with regard to their involvement with the temperance movement there.

The woman of 'weak character' was again the least discussed female type in the magazine. Only four examples of such women were present, with two of the items providing particularly sharp descriptions. One was an item that described a boy's memory of his cruel mother who had often beat him, and the second was a description of a "cold and heartless" young woman who judged men's character only by the circumstances of their birth and fortune.[44] The scarcity of discussion in the magazine about cruel or mean women is interesting; perhaps it suggests a reluctance in Victorian society to admit that a woman could even be capable of such deviance from the ideal.

The roles of women as daughters, wives, mothers and spinsters were variously portrayed in the Mirror. As was true of the Belle Assemblee, wives and daughters were the most frequently discussed roles, followed by mothers, and finally spinsters. Of the 103 females represented in the 1840 issues of the Mirror, 53 were daughters, 35 were wives, 11 were mothers and 4 were spinsters.

Much of what was written to and about daughters in the Mirror revolved around discussions of love and courtship. As mentioned, young women were frequently reminded of the importance of not letting their emotions get the best of them and their judgements. One contributor wrote:

> How, my girls, is your heart so little worth that
> you cut it, like old clothes, after any fashion,
> to fit any breast; and does it wax or shrink, then,
> like a Chinese ball, to fix itself into any male
> heart whatever?[45]

Another writer suggested that in order for young ladies to choose their husbands wisely, they needed to have an idea of what the "ideal model of all human perfections" is, so that their preferences and inclinations could be guided by this model. The writer did not indicate what this model was, but he felt strongly that young women should learn to employ high standards when choosing a mate. As he concluded, "love need then no longer be feared; this flame which consumes would then be no more than the flame which enlightens and vivifies."[46]

Most of that which was written about young ladies in the Mirror supported what Mrs. Ellis had written to the daughters of England. Contributors to the Mirror emphasized that young girls needed both an intellectual and practical education, that a girl's moral nature be developed, and that she learn to be a "duteous daughter." The general consensus seemed to be that young girls were involved in a learning process, gaining gradually in maturity, womanly wisdom, and character. As one contributor wrote: "they are like a green walnut; there are half a dozen outer coats to be pulled off, one by one, and slowly you reach the kernel of their characters." [47]

There were several items about marriage in the Mirror; interestingly enough, many of these were addressed to men, advising them about what to look for in a wife. The advice given to men was to choose a wife for qualities other than her beauty, for

> the sweetest looks by age are soon defaced.
> Then choose thy wife by wit and living well.[48]

These writers apparently agreed that a wife possessed of modesty, education, and good temper was much more desirable than a merely pretty wife. Again, it appears that most of the contributors to the Mirror agreed with what Mrs. Ellis believed a wife should be. The ideal of service, particularly as this was related to wives was given strong support in the Mirror. A number of articles outlined a wife's role as being one of ministering and rendering service to others. Her most important duty, according to most of these writers, was to bring happiness and comfort to her husband. A wife was often described as an 'angel' in these articles, with her own happiness being dependent on the happiness of others in her family. One writer referred to a wife as "the central star round which revolves that light of peace and love which circles home."[49] The complete wedding service of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert was printed in an 1840 issue, and in Victoria's vows was included the promise 'to obey' her husband. The following lines from a poem written by a Mrs. Norton discuss the nature in which a wife's services should be rendered:

> Such service may be made a holy task;
> And more, 'twere vain to hope and rash to ask,
> Therefore, oh! loved and lovely, be content,
> And take thy lot, with joy and sorrow blent.[50]

Finally, a rather lengthy excerpt from Jeremy Taylor's "Marriage Ring" was reprinted in the magazine. The major point made by Taylor in this article was that marriage is a safer existence than single life. Only those who can contain their 'desires' should remain single; otherwise they should marry for marriage was instituted by the Almighty, wrote Taylor, for the "relief of a natural necessity."[51]

Almost every reference to mothers in the Mirror was made in the form of poetry. Each of these poems described the beauty of a mother's

love for her child, and the constant caring required on the part of mothers for the well-being of their children. Mrs. Ellis would have probably accepted the sentiments expressed in these poems, although her own emphasis was less on loving the child than it was on raising the child to become a moral and dutiful human being. Mrs. Ellis believed that a mother's love for her child was instinctual and essential, but that mothers often did a great deal of harm to their children in the name of love. Giving in to all a child's demands, failing to discipline a child, and never wanting to hurt their child were some of the ways such mothers 'hurt' their children while believing they were simply loving them. Mrs. Ellis would have rather seen fewer poems about mothers' love, and more articles that discussed the raising of children. The language used in many of these items about mothers was extremely sentimental. Consider the following item from an 1841 issue of the Mirror:

> There is no picture so beautiful or enchanting as a mother in the midst of smiling cherubs, the dear pledges of conjugal love and emblems indeed of innocence. She looks like a sun of worth and virtue surrounded by a galaxy of stars. Their thoughts seem to be her thoughts, and their little desires seldom fail of finding acquiescence in her tender bosom.[52]

Children, too, were described in the same sentimental language used to describe mothers. Also very evident in these poems and items about motherhood was the belief that wives and mothers were the very heart and soul of the Victorian home. This belief was definitely in accordance with Mrs. Ellis's own views; she had discussed in great length the woman's influence in the home. The opening lines of a stanza in a poem printed in an 1840 issue of the Mirror read:

> Mother, sister, love and home,
> Words of Beauty, Words of Power![53]

'Women', 'love' and 'home' were indeed words of power in the early Victorian society.

The portrayal of spinsters in the Mirror differed hardly at all from what was written about them in the Belle Assemblee. They were again both pitied and praised by the contributors to the Mirror; praised because they refused to marry someone they did not feel was right for them and pitied because they were now alone and 'sneered' at by some members of society. The old maid, wrote one contributor, is a much more estimable character than "the foolish slave of passion, who braves all consequences for the gratification of the moment, or, as she elegantly terms it, who 'gives up all for love.'"[54] Once again, despite the nobleness these writers tried to attach to the role of 'spinster', most girls apparently dreaded 'with horror' the thought of becoming an old maid. The following excerpt illustrates this fate:

> There is not in the world a more deplorable site than a fine brood of English girls turning into old maids one after the other; first reaching the bloom of beauty, full of health, spirits, and tenderness; next striving anxiously, aided by their mother, to become honourable and happy wives; then fretting, growing thin, pale, listless, and cross; at last, if they do not go mad or die of consumption, seeking consolation in the belief on an approaching millennium, or in one single pursuit of that happiness in another world, which this world has denied to them.[55]

(4) The Annuals

The next three periodicals studied will be considered together. Their titles were Friendship's Offering, Forget Me Not, and Keepsake. Each of these periodicals was published annually in London, and they were all intended primarily as gift books for young ladies. The

frontispiece of Friendship's Offering, for example, had printed beneath the title: "A Christmas and New Year's Present." The content of all three periodicals was composed almost completely of poetry and fiction, and most of these items were written by women. The differences between the books were only negligible; they were the same size, printed on the same type of paper, and shared basically the same sort of content. One volume of each of the three periodicals was studied for the content analysis tables; the years of the periodicals examined were: Keepsake - 1842, Forget Me Not - 1840, and Friendship's Offering - 1840.

The breakdown of the content anlaysis charts was as follows. Since there were no other topics other than fiction and poetry, the tables deal with these two subjects only.

(1) Friendship's Offering:
Fiction - 11 items, 11 pertained to women.
Poetry - 12 items, 2 pertained to women.

(2) Forget Me Not:
Fiction - 11 items, 10 pertained to women.
Poetry - 23 items, 9 pertained to women.

(3) Keepsake:
Fiction - 13 items, 11 pertained to women.
Poetry - 29 items, 8 pertained to women.

Almost every poem and story printed in these three periodicals was about love. Most of the actions of the characters in the stories were motivated by love; the majority of times love triumphed, but occasionally it was the tragedy of love that was depicted. A few of the stories were set in the past or in other countries, but they too usually involved some sort of love situation. Many of the poems, although not making direct reference to women, were still about love. Not surprising, then, is the fact that practically the only female types represented in these three periodicals were the 'Sentimental' type and occasionally

the Mrs. Ellis type. 36 of the 48 females described in the annuals were of the Sentimental type, 8 of the 48 were Mrs. Ellis types, and 4 females were weak-character types, (see Table 5).

It was often difficult to determine whether the author of a poem or story approved or disapproved of the characters he or she was writing about. However, in most stories there was a happy ending; love was triumphant and the young lovers ended up marrying and living happily ever after. Perhaps these happy endings were an indication of the authors' approval of their characters; in any event, there was much less disapproval of the 'sentimental' love-driven females in the annuals than there had been in the Belle Assemblee and the Mirror. Table 6 indicates that 26 'sentimental' daughters received the author's approval, all 3 wives in the 'sentimental' category were approved of, and the two mothers in the 'sentimental' category were also given the authors' approval. Only 5 females, all daughters, in the 'sentimental' category received disapproval. All 8 of the Mrs. Ellis type females (5 daughters, 2 mothers, and 1 spinster) received the authors' approval, while the 4 weak character female types were all disapproved of by the authors.

The stories and poems that were published in the annuals may well have been the type of romantic tales that so many of the contributors to the Mirror and the Belle Assemblee were opposed to. The message contained in many of the stories and poems in the annuals was that true love was nobler than reason, and that one could endure incredible hardships for the sake of love. As was written in one poem:

> When mighty love hath mightiest power
> To bind the heart, subdue the will,
> Bid Reason's cold stern voice be still.[56]

Marriage, in almost all of these items, was an ending rather than a

	Senti-mental	Mrs. Ellis	Profess-ional	Weak Charac.	Indep-endent	TOTAL
Info. on other countries	0	0	0	0	0	0
Book Reviews	0	0	0	0	0	0
Biog./Memoir	0	0	0	0	0	0
Natural Hist.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gen. Interest, Non-fiction	0	0	0	0	0	0
History	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fiction	26	6	0	3	0	35
Poetry	10	2	0	1	0	13
TOTAL	36	8	0	4	0	48

TABLE V Female Type and Subject Area: The Annuals

	Senti-mental		Mrs. Ellis		Profess-ional		Weak Charac.		Indep-endent		TOTAL
	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	
Daughter	26	5	5	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	38
Wife	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Mother	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5
Spinster	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
TOTAL	31	5	8	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	48

TABLE VI Female Roles and Types and the Approval or Disapproval of the author - The Annuals

beginning. The characters in the stories were unmarried females looking to find love and become married. Table 6 indicates that 79% of the females depicted in the Annuals were daughters, 10% were mothers, only 6% were wives, and 4% were spinsters.

The sentimental type of female dominated the annuals. The Mrs. Ellis female type, as mentioned, accounted for only 8 of the 48 females described in the annuals examined. These 8 females were all approved of by the contributors' to the magazines, but the fact that 31 sentimental type females were also approved of implies a certain rejection of or indifference towards Mrs. Ellis's ideals. The tremendous emphasis the annuals placed on love over reason, their 'happy-ever-after' stories that depicted couples disregarding their elder's advice and class distinctions, and the lack of discussion in the annuals about the significance of service and duty in a woman's life were all ways in which the annuals contradicted somewhat the image of woman Mrs. Ellis portrayed.

The weak-character female types made up only 8% of the females described in the annuals examined for the content analysis charts while the Independent and Professional female types were not represented at all. Even when all the available issues of the periodicals were examined, there was still only a very few weak-character female types depicted, and hardly any independent or professional female types mentioned at all. The only profession mentioned for women in any of the annuals looked at was the governess. The descriptions of governesses were very sympathetic; contributors to the annuals also argued, as had the writers for the Mirror and Belle Assemblee, that governesses were a maligned class that deserved better:

> for, can it be denied that she sometimes ranks immeasurably above them [her employers] in all that constitutes real worth - but because the tyrant laws of custom have ordained that the lady who has the means to pay shall, in the various grades of society, hold a higher position than the lady who is compelled to receive a salary.[57]

Mrs. Ellis shared similar thoughts with regard to governesses.

The largest number of female characters depicted in the annuals were of the daughter category, and most of these were characterized as the sentimental type. 31 of the 38 daughters described in the annuals were of the sentimental type and, as previously mentioned, the daughter category represented 79% of the females described in the annuals examined. Mrs. Ellis would most likely have disapproved of the portrayal of young women put forth in the annuals. Several stories and poems told of daughters who disobeyed the wishes of their parents and guardians by eloping with men their families disapproved of. As one character in a story said: "Do you think fathers see with the same eyes as daughters, where so much is at stake?"[58] In many of the items there was a note of criticism directed at those parents who thwarted their daughter's efforts to marry their true loves, particularly if their only interest was in arranging 'marriages of convenience' for their daughters. Mrs. Ellis, too, would have disapproved of any greed on the part of parents, but she believed as well that marriage needed more than love to hold it together. For example, there were items in the annuals that described young persons intent on marrying individuals they claimed to love from other classes, either above or below their own class. This would have disturbed Mrs. Ellis in at least two ways; firstly, she did not want to see any blending of the class structure in England and secondly, she would have

had misgivings about the ability of love alone to sustain a young couple, who because of their vastly different backgrounds, would already have so many obstacles and hardships to overcome.

Despite the approval the annuals often gave to the sentimental young lady, there were also descriptions of women who had become vain and arrogant in their 'affairs of the heart.' The following poem appeared in the Forget Me Not:

> A worldly, flaunting thing of pride,
> Unsteady and untrue,
> Gay robes and jewels deck her now,
> She seeks the gaze of men;
> And is no more the flower I loved,
> For she was artless then![59]

One young male character in a story angrily retorted:

> Except my own little innocent sisters, and an unpretending woman here and there, who admits she is forty, nothing shall ever tempt me to converse with any of the sex - vain, mercenary creatures![60]

His might have been a valid charge. Several of the females in the stories revealed their intentions of only marrying men with money or position. As one yound lady named Ellen said:

> I shall never suffer my heart to be entangled under two or three thousand-a-year. I could not live upon less. Papa has nothing to give us, he is living up to his income; so till I get my two or three thousand a year, I only amuse myself.[61]

There was virtually no discussion in any of the items appearing in the annuals about a young girl's education, be it an intellectual or practical education. One young female character in a story admitted to having read books other than novels, and having also "studied other things than quadrilles and gallopades," but she writes, "Do not misunderstand me; I am not a bluestocking."[62] One could not have easily accused

many of the female characters depicted in the annuals of being 'blue-stockings'; their education was usually quite inconsequential to the situation they faced in the stories and poems. The ideal of service, upheld so strongly by Mrs. Ellis and supported also in the Mirror and Belle Assemblee, was not as significant a concept in the annuals. There was little discussion in the annuals that focussed on service directly, or on its implications for the definition of a woman's role. Perhaps if there had been more stories about wives and mothers, the ideal of service would have been more frequently applied in the annuals' literature. As it was, many of the young ladies described in the stories and poems thought of themselves and their own happiness first before they considered the needs of others. They were too busy finding love to be overly concerned with serving others; that, perhaps, came later.

However, this 'later' period in a young girl's life was hardly discussed at all in the annuals. As mentioned, the couples married at the end of the stories, and so little was written about a woman's role as a wife and mother. The role categories of a wife and mother (see Table 6) only made up 16% of the females in the annuals. However, becoming a wife was obviously something most of the young women in the stories badly wanted, and the implication in the stories was that this role would prove to be a very happy and rewarding one for women. The following poem appeared in Friendship's Offering:

> And she, when lost her daughter-life
> Might be that sweeter thing - a wife,
> A name and spell more precious far
> Than the lost gems of Istakhar.[63]

The reader, however, learns little else about a wife, or of the nature of the duties and responsibilities that accompanied such a role in early Victorian society.

The role of 'mother' also received scant reference in the literature of the annuals. What was written about mothers however was very positive; for example, in one story, the love of a mother was described as being the "deepest of all."[64] Written in a periodical full of praise for love, this comment was undoubtedly a compliment of the highest kind. Mothers were credited in the annuals, as they had been in the previous periodicals studied, with a sort of sixth sense with regard to anything affecting their children. As was written in a story called the Keepsake:

> The heart of a mother is not to be deceived; it has mysterious forbodings unknown to us, which enable it to foresee the misfortunes that threaten her children - a sort of moral instinct, which I can only compare to the physical one peculiar to some animals, by which they feel the tempest from afar, long before the perceptions of man are aware of its approach.[65]

Again, the duties and responsibilities of motherhood were not expounded upon in the annuals.

In the three annuals examined, only two stories were written about spinsters. The following excerpt from one of these stories contained a description of such a woman:

> No sweetheart ever had Janet Main, nor had it ever entered into the imagination of any man to make Janet a bride. Her strong masculine body, envoloping a mind still more man-like, seemed love-proof; and by the time that the age of forty entitled her to the name of old-maid, she had acquired a character for acute sagacity, until at fifty she was fairly accounted almost a 'cannie woman'.[66]

It appears that the main reason Janet Main was not selected as someone's bride was because she was too smart; smart in a 'man-like' sort of way. Janet Main and Seraphina, the other very intelligent female character written about in the Belle Assemblee, were both left alone by men because

of their singularity. The message for the readers of these periodicals may have been that if women wanted to attract husbands, they needed to spend less time developing their minds and more time learning about the 'womanly' duties and obligations they would be expected to fulfill.

(5) General - Audience Periodicals

To place these women's periodicals and their views in a fuller context, a number of the more well known 'general audience' periodicals were examined to see what was written about women in magazines oriented more towards a male, rather than a female, reading audience. The years of the issues surveyed were also between 1840 and 1845. A comprehensive study and content analysis of these periodicals was not undertaken and only major articles printed about women in these issues were read. Many leading Victorian periodicals, of course, published nothing of significance about women between the years of 1840 and 1845. Periodicals that did include such items were Blackwoods, The Metropolitan, The Westminster Review, The New Moral World, The Athenaeum, The Eclectic Review, The Spectator, Taits Edinburgh Magazine, The Saturday Magazine, Edinburgh Review, and Fraser's Magazine. In most of these periodicals, the topic of 'women' was not a frequent one; politics, industry, and world affairs were subjects allocated the most space in these periodicals. What was written about women was interesting, however, not only in how it differed from what was written about women in the woman's and family periodicals, but also in how views about women varied among the general periodicals themselves.

The topic of woman's rights was one that was debated and discussed with much more intensity in the general periodicals than it had been in the family and woman's periodicals. The range of opinion expressed in

the general periodicals on this topic suggests that it was one that engendered a lot of controversy. Periodicals such as The Westminster Review, the New Moral World, and Tait's Edinburgh Magazine published articles in support of increased rights for women. The Westminster Review, for example, argued that vocations for females should be opened up as, they argued, "it is becoming everyday more difficult to provide for daughters as mere ladies."[67] Also, it was argued in this article that women should be entitled to political rights. Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, although not as supportive of women's rights as was The Westminster Review, also argued for the extension of the political franchise to women. As the author of this article wrote; "It is not easy to perceive danger accruing to society from the increase of the educated minds that watch over or have an active voice in the conduct of its affairs."[68] In Tait's, the author also complained about the tendency for parents to educate their daughters only for marriage rather than for any other kind of vocation. As he wrote:

> We have far too many ..."gentlewomen" without a profession, a condition most unhappy in itself and one highly injurious to society.[69]

The New Moral World periodical was a strong socialist publication and it printed numerous articles deploring the present political and social position of women in England. Articles that appeared in this periodical also strongly criticized the lack of vocations available for women, and the fact that this lack of a means of self-sufficiency forced many women into "mercenary marriages." As one writer for this periodical concluded:

> To man is assigned the active duties of life, the honour, the excitement, and the reward. To woman the passive endurance, monotony and inferiority of domestic serfage.[70]

Several of the general periodicals reasoned that women should not have the same rights as men because of the innate differences that existed between the two sexes. Blackwoods Magazine, perhaps the magazine most opposed to granting equal rights to men and women, wrote that women were generally inferior to men and therefore, a division of duties for the sexes was necessary. The domain Blackwoods assigned to women included "the whole region over which politeness should extend," the area of fine arts, and the duty of refining society. As this author further declared, a woman's task is

> to inspire those principles, to inculcate those doctrines, to animate those sentiments, which generations yet unborn and nations yet uncivilized, shall learn to bless; to soften firmness into mercy, to chasten honour into refinement, to exalt generousity into virtue .[71]

Writers for both the Eclectic Review and The Spectator agreed with the contention made in Blackwoods that women and men could never be equal because of their differences. A woman, suggested one writer for the Spectator, enjoys considerable power "even when she seems the most enslaved." He further wrote that women's minds were less vigorous than men's, and this difference of mental power was sufficient "to make them divide the duties of life beneficially." Women's particular function, suggested this writer for the Spectator, was childbearing and the nurturing and bringing up of offspring; this, he wrote, "is in itself a business, and a business for which the tenderness and weakness or docility of the sex are peculiarly fitted."[72] The Athenaeum periodical suggested too that the distinctions between the sexes would never be lost by any equalization of their rights:

> Woman must always of course continue to be the mother of the human race; and as no change in her condition can alter that law

> of nature, so neither can any change alter those peculiarities of her mental constitution which so nicely fit her for the duties of the maternal character.[73]

Several of the general periodicals wrote about the special moralizing influence women possessed. Blackwoods Magazine, as mentioned, suggested that because women possessed such special influence, they did not require equal status with men. The Metropolitan periodical published an article that elaborated on women's "tender devotedness and her undeviating affection," which all have experienced in "a mother, a wife, a sister, or a friend."[74] The virtue and goodness of women was a common theme in many of the articles published about women in Victorian periodicals, be it women's, family, or general periodicals. The Westminster Review, however, disliked this practice of representing women as angels and treating the feminine character as if it were in itself 'the rule of perfection':

> Some virtues, as some vices, are doubtless attributable to sex and situation, but the sum of virtue and vice in either, we may presume, does not greatly vary, and the human, not the sexual character, as capable of improvement and of moral perfection, should be the groundwork of our study and contemplation.[75]

Another topic that was discussed more frequently in the general periodicals than it had been in the woman's and the family periodicals was the topic of employment for women. A writer for the Spectator magazine, for example, strongly criticized the type of work women were forced to undertake. Despite his strong criticisms, he could offer no solution to the problem. He disapproved of any attempts to place women in jobs already occupied by men, arguing that "society would obtain slender relief by throwing the men idle instead of the women." His

conclusion was that "the immolation of female victims must continue until the balance of work and work women is reestablished."[76] The Saturday Magazine discussed the reports on the employment of women and children in agriculture, and the Edinburgh Review published the commission reports on juvenile and female labour in coal-mines, calico-printing, metal wares, lace-making, and millinery. In both magazines, the fear was expressed that the women involved in such work would have no time to learn habits of household management, and would thus be unfit for their duties as wives and mothers. Blackwoods Magazine published an article that made essentially the same point. The Blackwoods article concluded that such women,

> are unfit to be any man's wife - still more unfit to be any child's mother. We hear little of this from philanthropists or education-mongers; but it is, nevertheless, not the least, because the most generally diffused, evil connected with our manufacturing industry.[77]

Most of the general periodicals wrote approvingly of the roles of wife and mother for women, although the fact that many women were forced to marry to survive was criticized by several of the writers for these publications. Both Mrs. Ellis's emphasis on duty and the woman's and family periodicals' emphasis on love was reflected in the items written about wives and mothers in the general periodicals. For exampe, Frasers Magazine described marriage as the 'regulator' of the varied duties and responsibilities of mankind, while the Metropolitan magazine discussed instead the bonds of affection and love that were so important to marriage. Two interesting articles about spinsters also appeared in the general periodicals, one in the Metropolitan and the other in Blackwoods. In the Metropolitan, the tone of the article about spinsters was very

similar to what was written about spinsters by Mrs. Ellis and in the woman's and family periodicals: spinsters were to be pitied more than anything else. As the Metropolitan contributor wrote:

> Most strenuously do we maintain that antiquated virgins are in general more to be pitied than blamed for remaining in a single state; and yet they are frowned upon and trodden under by all classes of their fellow-beings.[78]

The author of the Metropolitan article felt, however, that many spinsters had rejected 'valuable' offers, in their search for true love. Instead, a woman should look for good qualities of temper and conduct in a man, and accept this man's hand in marriage even, he wrote,

> although at the time she felt no peculiar affection for him; for such qualities cannot fail ultimately to render him the object of her regards, and secure the happiness of the married state.[79]

The article that appeared in Blackwoods was entitled "A Bewailment From Bath" and it took the form of a letter from a spinster to the editor of this periodical. In her letter, the spinster was complaining about the amount of attention devoted to wives in the various periodicals and books, while the case of single women was essentially ignored. She wrote:

> Have not the wives of England husbands to whisper wisdom into their ears? Why, then, are they to be coaxed or lectured by tabby-bound volumes, while we are left neglected in a corner? Our earthly career, the Lord he knows, is far more trying - our temptations as much greater, as our pleasures are less; and it is mortifying indeed to find our behavior a thing so little worth interference.[80]

She pleads with the editor of Blackwoods to remind his readers that "the greatest of all women have been single." Examples she provided of such women included Queen Elizabeth, Joan of Arc, and the Soeurs de Charite. In concluding her argument she wrote:

> Then perhaps, you will persuade them that we are worth our schooling; and the "Old Maids of England" may look forward to receive a tabby-bound manual of their duties, as well as its "Wives".[81]

This message seems to be especially intended for Mrs. Ellis.

The portrayal of women in the nineteenth century periodicals studied was not entirely consistent. In the woman's periodical (The Belle Assemblee), most of the female characters described fit the Mrs. Ellis image of woman; they were women who adhered to the ideal of service, internalizing such goals as serving others (particularly husbands and children), thinking of others' happiness first, and taking charge of all domestic affairs. The women written about in the Belle Assemblee were also very interested in finding true love and happiness; the search for this sometimes conflicting with their adherence to the service ideal. The portrayal of women in the family-oriented periodical (the Mirror) was very similar to that of the Belle Assemblee; the women generally accepted the goals of the ideal of service, while also experiencing conflict with their need to have love and romance. The content of the family periodical was much more varied than that of the Belle Assemblee or the annuals, and so the information related about women in the Mirror was also more varied than it was in the other two types of periodicals. The Mirror tended to print articles from different sources, and to encourage some diversity of opinion regarding topics directed to or about women. In the annuals, the portrayal of women was almost totally in the sentimental vein; the ideal of service was mentioned very little in the poetry and fiction items of the three annuals studied. Instead, the stories and poems revolved around the tragedies and triumphs of young love; the endings were usually happy with the young ladies often finding and marrying their true loves. Marriage

and motherhood were topics only hinted at in the ending of these stories; the role of the wife and mother was obviously in the future for the typical female character described in the annuals, but few women presently in the roles of wives and mothers were depicted. In the general periodicals, the portrayal of women was more varied than the women's periodicals referred to. Controversy and difference of opinion regarding topics devoted to or about woman was much more common in the general periodicals than it had been in any of the other periodicals. There was a great amount of diverse opinion about women within the general periodicals themselves; one periodical might endorse a 'Mrs. Ellis' view of women while another periodical might concentrate instead on how to promote equality between the sexes. Thus, the type of woman (Mrs. Ellis, professional, sentimental, etc) presented in the general periodicals varied from one periodical, or even from one article within a periodical, to the next.

The women in the periodicals, particularly in those oriented towards a female reading audience, were described and characterized in much the same way as they had been in Mrs. Ellis's 'Women of England' series. The ideals of service, duty, and a general orientation to 'others' before self was emphasized in the popular periodical, just as it had been in Mrs. Ellis's books. Even in the annuals there was the suggestion that the daughters portrayed would eventually marry and have children, and thus assume the service/duty responsibilities inherent to such roles. The woman's moralizing influence was also emphasized in the periodicals as was her centrality to the home and the 'fireside'. A lack of discussion in the women's magazines about women's rights, professions, or roles outside that of daughter, wife, or mother reflected as well the similarity between the view of women held by Mrs. Ellis and that held by the

periodicals. The greatest difference between the two was in their treatment of the role of love in a woman's life; Mrs. Ellis translated love into duty, while the periodicals often did battle with the pros and cons of 'romantic' love in a woman's life. Generally, however, there was more similarity than dissimilarity in the image of women being presented by the popular periodical and Mrs. Ellis. In the following chapter, this image that was presented of women in these two sources of nineteenth century thought will be examined more completely.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER FOUR

[1] Cynthia White, Women's Magazines 1693-1968 (London: Michael Joseph, 1970), p. 42.

[2] "To Correspondents," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 14 (1841), p. 60.

[3] "To Correspondents," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 16 (1842), p. 254.

[4] "To Correspondents," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 18 (1843), p. 124.

[5] Ibid., p. 316.

[6] "To Correspondents," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 17 (1842), p. 303.

[7] "To Correspondents," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 17 (n.d.), p. 124.

[8] Sarah Stickney Ellis, The Women of England (London: Fisher, Son and Co., 1839), p. 28.

[9] New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 15 (1841), p. 344.

[10] New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 16 (1842), p. 274.

[11] New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 18 (1843), p. 216.

[12] "The Gentleman Without Incumbrances," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 16 (1842), p. 283.

[13] New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 17 (1842), p. 364.

[14] "Seraphina; or the Woman of Genius," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 14 (1841), pp. 238-240.

[15] "The Gentleman Without Incumbrances," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 16 (1842), p. 133.

[16] "The Weaver," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 17 (1842), p. 89.

[17] "To Our Readers," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 18 (1843), p. 372.

[18] "The Young Lady Who Writes," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 16 (1842), p. 133.

[19] "A Tale of the Second Crusade," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 17 (1842), p. 295.

[20] "The Lady's Lesson," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 16 (1843), p. 363.

[21] "Botany, No. 1. Its Advantages as an Amusement, Independent of Science," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 14 (1841), p. 111 and Elizabeth Youatt, "The Sentimental Young Lady," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 15 (1841), pp. 340-344.

[22] G. J. D. Butler Danvers Esq., "A Sister's Love," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 15 (1841), pp. 340 and Mrs. Bernard L'oste, "To My Brother in Africa," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 14 (1841), p. 277.

[23] Mrs. Cornwall Baron-Wilson, "The Bride," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 14 (1841), p. 1.

[24] Mrs. Edward Thomas, "Matrimonial Recrimination," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 14 (1841), p. 29.

[25] Miss Elizabeth Youatt, "Influence," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 15 (1841), p. 344.

[26] "A Mother's Last Prayer," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 15 (1841), p. 294.

[27] "A Chapter on Old Maids," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 16 (1842), p. 331.

[28] "The Contrast," New Monthly Belle Assemblee, 14 (1841), p. 30.

[29] "Song of Spring," The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction, 3 (1843), p. 63.

[30] "Genevieve," The Mirror, 38 (1841), p. 44 and Rev. Dr. H. Edwards, "Marriage," The Mirror, 6 (1844), pp. 427-428.

[31] "The Poor Mad-Maiden of Bruyeres," The Mirror, 1 (1840), p. 355 and "Snatched From the Grave," The Mirror, 4 (1843), p. 395.

[32] The Mirror, 37 (1841), p. 117.

[33] The Mirror, 1 (1840), p. 247.

[34] Professor Longfellow, "Life and its Duties," The Mirror, 5 (1844), p. 136.

[35] "Woman, and her Social Position," The Mirror, 37 (1841), n. pag.

[36] "The Female Complaint," The Mirror, 4 (1843), p. 66.

[37] "Modern English Poetesses," The Mirror, 4 (1840), p. 231.

[38] "Lady Flora Hastings," The Mirror, 37 (1841), p. 125.

[39] The Mirror, 2 (1840), p. 20.

[40] "The Gatherer," The Mirror, 2 (1840), p. 96.

[41] R. Hastings, "The Servant Girl in London," The Mirror, 2 (1840), p. 189.

[42] "Woman Slaughter," The Mirror, 4 (1843), p. 408.

[43] Ibid., p. 408.

[44] Captain Marryat, "Poor Jack," The Mirror, 1 (1840), p. 12 and "Matchmaking," The Mirror, 38 (1841), p. 383.

[45] Jean Paul Richter, "Daughter-full House," The Mirror, 5 (1844), p. 398.

[46] John Byrne, "Marriage and Education," The Mirror, 6 (1844), p. 53.

[47] "The Gatherer," The Mirror, 37 (1840), p. 131.

[48] "Sir John Bordeaux's Advice in the Choice of a Wife," The Mirror, 1 (1840), p. 346.

[49] "The Seven Ages of Women," The Mirror, 37 (1840), p. 131.

[50] "A Truthful and Righthearted Statement of Woman's Privileges and Duties," The Mirror, 2 (1840), p. 12.

[51] Jeremy Taylor, "Marriage Ring," The Mirror, 2 (1840), p. 259.

[52] The Mirror, 37 (1841), p. 69.

[53] W. T. Moncrieff, "Words of Beauty," The Mirror, 1 (1840), p. 246.

[54] The Mirror, 5 (1844), p. 30.

[55] The Mirror, 37 (1841), p. 44.

[56] Mrs. Walker, "The Eve of the Bridal," Forget Me Not, (1840), p. 155.

[57] "Adeline," Forget Me Not, (1840), p. 222.

[58] "The Younger Son," Forget Me Not, (1840), p. 220.

[59] "Song," Forget Me Not, (1840), p. 220.

[60] Miss Worthington, "The Glenroys," Keepsake (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1842), p. 25.

[61] "My Cousin and the Curate," Friendship's Offering (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1840), p. 342.

[62] W. H. Harrison, "The Painter," Friendship's Offering, (1840), p. 194.

[63] T. K. Harvey, "The Renegade's Daughter," Friendship's Offering, (1840), p. 212.

[64] Charles Swain, esq., "Song," Forget Me Not, (1840), p. 360.

[65] Mrs. Romer, "The Betrayed," Keepsake (1842), p. 245.

[66] Major Calder Campbell, "Fisher Jenny," Forget Me Not, (1840), p. 239.

[67] "Review of Womens' Works," The Westminster Review, 35 (1841), p. 33.

[68] "Mrs. Hugo Reid's Plea for Women," Taits Edinburgh Review, NS 1 (1844), p. 425.

[69] Ibid., p. 427.

[70] "Women and Social Position, Causes of Mercenary Marriages," The New Moral World (22, Aug. 1840), p. 36.

[71] "Review of Womens' Rights and Duties," Blackwoods Magazine, 54 (1843), p. 397.

[72] "Review of Womens' Rights and Duties," The Spectator, 14 (1841), p. 64.

[73] "Review of a Plea For Women," The Athenaeum (1844), p. 217.

[74] Mrs. Edward Thomas, "Woman," Metropolitan, 36 (1843), p. 321.

[75] "Review of Womens' Works," Westminster Review, 35 (1841), p. 51.

[76] "Employment for Middle-Class Females," The Spectator, 14 (1843), p. 254.

[77] "Causes of the Increase of Crime," Blackwoods Magazine, 56 (1844), p. 10.

[78] "Old Maids-Bachelors-Marriage," Metropolitan, 44 (1845), p. 352.

[79] Ibid., p. 352.

[80] Blackwoods Magazine, 55 (1844), p. 200.

[81] "A Bewailment From Bath; Or, Poor Old Maids," Blackwoods Magazine, 55 (1844), p. 200.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The intent of this study was to examine the image of the early middle-class Victorian woman, as she was portrayed by the Victorians themselves. The sources of nineteenth-century thought considered included the four books in the 'Women of England' series written by Sarah Stickney Ellis and the portrayal of women presented in a select group of popular nineteenth-century periodicals. By considering in some detail how these two different sources of nineteenth-century thought portrayed women, an appreciation of the image of the Victorian woman, as subscribed to by the Victorians themselves, could be obtained. Essentially, it was what was held in common about women by both Mrs. Ellis and the popular periodical that was significant for this study. The image of the middle-class woman consisted of that which both popular writers such as Mrs. Ellis, and the periodicals agreed to be true about women.

In chapter two, Mrs. Ellis and the nineteenth-century world of women were considered. A survey of the developments and events occuring in the century indicate that the nineteenth-century was a time-period filled with controversy and change. Britain of the nineteenth-century experienced changes economically, politically, and along class lines. Increased industrialization and the accompanying shift of the economy from the land to the factory served to create and sustain a growing middle class. Throughout the century, developments in the areas of religion, science, education, technology, and politics were accompanied with some upheaval and a great deal of controversy, as individuals were forced to cope with the implications such developments had on their own

lives. For example, Darwin's publication On the Origin of Species threw into question many peoples' religious beliefs; the controversy surrounding the issue of creation versus evolution was a heated one in the nineteenth-century. Similarly, a great deal of debate and argument surrounded the issue of women's rights in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century.

An important vehicle for expressing such varying viewpoints and opinions came increasingly to be the periodical. The periodical press greatly expanded and diversified in the nineteenth-century. The increased literacy rate among the Victorian populace ensured a larger reading audience for these periodicals, and as the century progressed more and more magazines catering to particular segments of the population were published. The woman's periodical press, for example, expanded steadily during the nineteenth-century. The printed word became an extremely important means of communicating one's ideas with the rest of the population; the appearance of the 'advice book,' for example, greatly increased in popularity in the nineteenth-century.

In chapter three, Mrs. Ellis's writings about the women of England were considered. Mrs. Ellis wrote that her intention in writing the books in the 'Women of England' series was to remind the women of England of what their various duties consisted of and how they could best prepare themselves for assuming such duties, whatever stage of life they were at. Whether one was a daughter, a wife, or a mother, there were lessons to be learned and duties and services to be performed. In her 'Women of England' series, Mrs. Ellis attempted to outline what the various expectations were regarding the duties and character-development of the daughters, wives, and mothers of England. Because Mrs. Ellis's

books sold so well, and were so widely read, it can be assumed that many people accepted as correct and desirable, the assumptions, opinions and expectations about women that Mrs. Ellis held. While agreement or approval of principle does not necessarily imply behavioral compliance with such principle, it does result in a general and fairly wide-spread acceptance of the ideals or images inherent in such accepted principle. So while many women as individuals may not have practiced all that Mrs. Ellis or other popular writers of the period advised them to do, as a group they no doubt internalized as being correct the images of women being portrayed through such writing.

The image of woman Mrs. Ellis put forth in her writing revolved around the woman's role as a helpmate and servant to the rest of society, rendering herself useful to all and any who might need her. Mrs. Ellis suggested that essentially women, by themselves, were empty and unfulfilled creatures unless they had others in their lives to give their existence both definition and significance. These 'others,' as defined by Mrs. Ellis, were one's parents, husband, children, society, and God. At any stage in a woman's life, then, there were always others to whom she should be directing her thoughts and actions. In each of the books in the 'Women of England' series, Mrs. Ellis was advising women on ways they could best prepare themselves for a life of continuous thinking and acting for others.

Daughters were to begin early to practice such preparation, rendering whatever services they could for their parents, and family, particularly their brothers. Their education, suggested Mrs. Ellis, should be primarily a practical one, where they would learn the skills and duties involved in managing a Victorian household. A girl should

also receive enough 'intellectual' education to make her an interesting conversationalist and companion for her husband-to-be, but never so much as to cause her practically-oriented education to suffer. Everything that Mrs. Ellis advised women to acquire was never to be considered by women as something they were doing for themselves, but rather, as a means of making themselves a more useful or appealing individual for all of the 'others' in their lives. For this reason, young girls were encouraged by Mrs. Ellis to acquire a taste for music, painting and poetry, to be aware of their appearance, develop their conversation skills, and keep abreast of current affairs.

As wives, women were reminded by Mrs. Ellis of the importance of their maintaining their charm and attraction for their husband, striving to make all things pleasing to him. A wife was also expected, suggested Mrs. Ellis, to supervise the efficient running of the Victorian household, and to carefully ensure that her husband's needs and wants were all taken care of.

Mothers had the duties of a wife to fulfill, with the additional responsibility of caring for any children resulting from their marriages. Mrs. Ellis referred to the mother's role of raising and teaching her children as being the most important role a woman could assume. The influence a mother had on her child, wrote Mrs. Ellis, was the main determiner of how the character of that child developed. Weak or 'bad' adults were the product of their mothers. The mother, then, was to spend a great deal of her time in raising and educating her children, while ensuring also that her time was divided between her husband and children so that the husband's needs were not neglected.

Spinsters, although mentioned very infrequently by Mrs. Ellis, were also referred to by her in terms of how they considered others. The woman who never married, suggested Mrs. Ellis, was often an unselfish individual who chose to remain single rather than marry for the more selfish reason of merely wanting the status of being married.

In any of the four roles that Mrs. Ellis outlined for women, the image of one who was constantly giving of herself in order to provide service for others was the image consistently applied to the middle-class woman. Throughout her writing, Mrs. Ellis reminded women that their particular responsibility, as women, was to elevate and safeguard the moral fabric of Britain. The changes and restructuring occurring in the nineteenth century made Mrs. Ellis even more adamant about the necessity of convincing women that their stabilizing influence in society was vital. The glorification of home and family, frequently presented throughout Victorian writing, suggests that many Victorians needed the security a home and family provided them. G. M. Young, in Portrait of an Age, wrote:

> Who are these Victorians? By what mark are we to know them? What creed, what doctrine, what institution was among them which was not at some time or other debated or assailed?
> I can think of two only: Representative Institutions and the Family.[1]

A woman in the home, managing it while at the same time making it an inviting and warm refuge for her family, no doubt came to be associated in the minds of many with security and stability. Mrs. Ellis appreciated this, and through her writing, attempted to urge women even more strongly to devote their energy to making all aspects of the home pleasing for her family. Mrs. Ellis, however, carried this serving of the family by a woman further, to include service to all.

The ideal of service was strongly consistent in the image of woman Mrs. Ellis presented. Apart from this major consistency, there were, interestingly enough, several inconsistencies in Mrs. Ellis's portrayal of women. Women, she wrote, must be prepared to suffer while at the same time not letting their suffering get in the way of making others happy. They were to think of themselves as inferior to men and yet be responsible for 'rightfully' influencing men's moral development. Women were described by Mrs. Ellis as being moral caretakers, but also accused by her of being vain temptresses. She urged women to acquire intellectual education without becoming an intellectual, and to appropriate practical skills without becoming a 'household drudge.' Women were frequently warned by Mrs. Ellis against depending on their feelings too much, and yet were told by her that their lives were ruled by the law of love. They were described as being helpless and dependent, and yet assumed capable also of budgeting, supervising servants, raising and educating children, and efficiently accomplishing a great many tasks around the home. Women were to help all persons in need, regardless of class, while being careful to adhere to their own position, living neither above nor below their own station in life. Charity was certainly to be extended to individuals of a lower class, but friendship and marriage were to be reserved for individuals belonging to one's own class only. Mrs. Ellis frequently reminded women that under Christian law, they were viewed as being equal to men, and yet just as frequently, she described women's nature as being weaker than men's, because women as represented by Eve were the first to sin. The superiority of men over women was claimed by Mrs. Ellis, although she warned women against associating with men who were non-religious, drinkers, or of different

spheres. Similarly, a marriage should be a love match, wrote Mrs. Ellis, but at the same time it must also be a union formed with an eye towards practicality and reality. Marriage to a man of another class, no matter how much the woman may claim to love him, was not an acceptable union according to Mrs. Ellis. The image of woman Mrs. Ellis presented, then, was not a clearly defined single image. Instead, she presented an image that reflected several visions, not all of them consistent with one another, of the middle-class early Victorian woman.

The image of woman presented in the periodicals studied did not differ very considerably from the image of woman Mrs. Ellis presented. In both, the most consistent emphasis was placed on the belief that a woman's most natural function and role consisted of her thinking and acting for others, before doing so for herself. The 'Mrs. Ellis' type of woman, characterized by an adherence to the 'ideal of service,' was a frequent portrayal in the periodicals studied. The periodical writers approved of the woman who made sacrifices for her family and friends, and who made the ideal of service an integral part of her own life-code.

As was true of Mrs. Ellis's portrayal, the reviewed periodicals, other than a few of the general-audience ones, did not envision many roles for women outside the home. Women with some type of profession or occupation outside of the home were rarely discussed in the periodicals catering to largely female reading audiences. Even in the three annuals, where the concept of female service was the least pronounced, there was the assumption made that all girls would eventually marry and become mothers-implying at least, a life for women bounded by service to others. The most common portrayal of women in the periodicals was as daughters and wives; mothers and spinsters were written about with much less frequency.

Perhaps the most noticeable difference between the periodicals' and Mrs. Ellis's presentations was the more pronounced focus the periodicals placed on the sentimental aspect of woman's nature. Topics of love and romance, and descriptions of women possessed of 'sentimental-type' character traits abounded in the periodicals; stories and poems were full of situations in which young women lost their hearts (and frequently their sanity and even their lives as well) to the throes of passionate love. Like Mrs. Ellis, the periodicals' also had problems reconciling the love versus reason conflict. Mrs. Ellis was able to arrive at somewhat of a compromise: she declared that love was essential to a marriage, but it was a love that was to be earned rather than fallen into. As well, love was not the most important criteria for contracting a marriage; such factors as shared class background, religious belief, and various practical matters were also essential. Mrs. Ellis leaned more towards the establishment of marriages based on 'realities' rather than mere love. In the periodicals, however, the response to the entire love versus reality and reason conflict was much more schizophrenic. Periodicals such as the three annuals, portrayed very consistently the triumph of love over all obstacles. In the family and woman's magazines, however, the sentimental woman was presented both favourably and unfavourably - even within the same issue of a magazine. As detailed in the previous chapter, love was both glorified, and yet cited as a reason why many women made foolish and unreasonable decisions. Generally, the periodicals did not approve of the overly-sentimental woman. While they placed a great deal of emphasis on the importance of love in a marriage and home, it was to be a mature love that sweetened the atmosphere of the home, and added depth to the character of women.

Just as there had been inconsistencies within Mrs. Ellis's own portrayal of the image of woman, inconsistency was also very much a part of the periodicals' portrayal of women. Different periodicals took different stances with regard to women; this was particularly true among the general-audience periodicals as publications such as the Westminster Review and Blackwoods often stood far apart with regard to their expressed views about women. Even within one particular periodical, contradictions often resulted as different contributors to the periodical gave vent to varying opinions. One sees, perhaps more clearly in the periodicals than in Mrs. Ellis's writing, such inconsistencies in the presentation of an image of woman as: the glorification of the woman's role in the home, and also urgings to allow women the right to paid occupation; an emphasis placed on the importance of viewing life realistically, alongside stories and poems that suggested that love, romance, and a desire for all things pretty were the ruling force in every woman's life; and also the suggestion that a woman was both weak and strong, vain and selfless, and ignorant yet wise.

What is perhaps most interesting is the seemingly strong agreement Mrs. Ellis and the periodicals, particularly those written for women, shared regarding their presentation of an image of the middle-class early Victorian woman. In both cases, the image presented was neither singular nor particularly clear. Contradictions and inconsistencies were apparent in both, suggesting that they were not merely inconsistencies in the writers' own minds, but rather were reflections of the inconsistencies that existed in real life for women. The 'types' of women discussed in the periodical tables: the Mrs. Ellis type, the sentimental type, the independent, the professional, and the weak-character types should not be considered as distinct, realistic

portrayals of women, but rather, as reflections of the internal contradictions that were inherent within the image of woman itself. Most middle-class women of this period undoubtedly faced these contradictions daily as they reconciled living in a society that perceived an image of woman in which all five types were viewed as being at least partially representative of woman's nature. The 'Mrs. Ellis' type was the type most favoured by Mrs. Ellis and the periodicals both; women were encouraged by these two sources to develop their 'natural' tendencies towards rendering duty and service for others, and also, to let their feelings (which were naturally high-toned and moral) guide them in all that they did, thus purging their 'image' of the less desirable traits implied in some of the other character-'types'. By concentrating on the development of traits associated with duty, feeling, and service, women were able somewhat to reconcile the contradictions inherent in their image. The idealization of the concept of female service brought women a certain amount of relief; it reduced the variation and contradiction associated with their image, while providing women with a more singular purpose and goal for their lives, namely the assumption of responsibility for their society's moral fabric. Women could then take comfort in the realization that their image was being increasingly viewed in a positive manner, as they came to be recognized as a valuable social element in Victorian society.

The relationship between the recognition of the Victorian female as a valuable social element, and the concept of nineteenth-century female service is interesting. Raymond Williams, in his book Culture and Society 1780-1950 discusses the ideal of service and class.

Williams maintains that class distinctions in the nineteenth century, particularly after the Industrial Revolution, could not be as easily made as they once might have been. Distinctions in housing, dress, and modes of leisure became less pronounced as the Industrial Revolution tended to produce uniformity in such matters. The crucial class distinction, argues Williams, "is between alternative ideas of the nature of social relationship."[2] Williams suggests that the bourgeois idea of social relationship is individualism, while the reforming bourgeois modification of this version of society is the idea of service. Williams contrasts this idea with working class culture which is primarily social rather than individual. His contention, then, is that the middle-class developed the idea of service, while the working class developed the idea of solidarity. Although Williams acknowledges the benefits resulting from the implementation of the middle-class idea of service, he is not altogether positive about it. A large part of English middle class education, suggests Williams, was and continues to be devoted to the training of servants; stress is placed on conformity and on respect for authority. The 'servant' is taught to subordinate his own interests to a larger good. William's major criticism of this ethic is that in practice, it serves to maintain and confirm the status quo; 'servants' are placed on a hierarchy "governed by the existing distributions of property, remuneration, education, and respect."[3] There is the tendency for the 'upper servants' (an example would be the middle-class) to want to improve the conditions of the 'lower servants' (the working class), and genuine dismay is the experience of these upper servants when they realize that those whom they want to improve do not wish this and do not fully respond to the

service they receive. Williams concludes by arguing that

> the idea of service, ultimately, is no substitute for the idea of active mutual responsibility which is the other version of community. Few men can give the best of themselves as servants; it is the reduction of man to a function. Further, the servant, if he is to be a good servant, can never really question the order of things; his sense of authority is too strong. Yet the existing order is in fact subject to almost overwhelming pressures. The break through, into what together we want to make of our lives will need qualities which the idea of service not only fails to provide, but, in its limitation of our minds, actively harms.[4]

Much of what Williams writes about the position of servants can be applied, I believe, to the situation of the middle-class woman in the nineteenth-century. Rosemary Jackson suggests that in the nineteenth-century, 'duty' became a new kind of divinity. Both men and women were expected and required to do their duty, and perform the necessary service required for the 'keeping of order' in Victorian society. As Charles Dickens wrote in 1850:

> Be earnest - earnest in life's reality and do not let your life, which has a purpose in it - every life upon earth has - fly by while you are brooding over mysteries. The mystery is not here, but far beyond the sky. The preparation for it, is doing duty.[5]

The nineteenth-century was an age of service as evidenced by the growing strength and importance of the civil service, diplomatic service, and domestic service throughout the period. An important aspect of the concepts of service and duty is work; the necessity and virtue of which were preached by the Evangelicals and embraced by a great many of the middle-class. The admonishments of Thomas Carlyle echoed loudly during the early nineteenth-century: "Doubt of any sort

cannot be removed except by Action," "Know thy work and do it," "Do the duty which lies nearest thee, which thou knowest to be a Duty," and so on.[6] High value was placed upon work and upon related qualities of frugality and self-denial. As Raymond Williams observed, there was a tendency for the service and duty ethic to position people into a hierarchy. W. J. Reader writes:

> From God downwards through the Queen and the established social order, there were those, it was generally held, whose place it was to give orders and those whose duty it was to obey.[7]

The Victorians combined with their acceptance of established authority, a belief in individual responsibility and individual rights. But as Williams stated, good servants do not question the order of things, although 'upper servants' do try, writes Williams, to improve the conditions of those below them. William Morris remarked that the aim of certain reformers of his day was to turn the working classes into middle classes; the values of hard work, thrift, and self-control were preached at the labouring poor. As Lord Shaftesbury said:

> The middle-classes know that the safety of their lives and property depends upon their having round them a peaceful, happy, and moral population.[8]

Therefore, writes G. M. Young:

> To induce some modicum of cleanliness and foresight, to find some substitute for savage sport and savage drinking, to attract the children to school and the parents to church, to awaken some slight interest in books and the world beyond the end of the street, on such limited, necessary ends as these was bent that enormous apparatus of early Victorian philanthropy .[9]

Performing one's duty and rendering service was an important aspect in the lives of many Victorians; the ideal of service allowed many individuals to develop a strength of purpose in going about their own and their nation's work. G. M. Young describes this sense of purpose the Victorians had in their work as the 'notion of Mission.' Describing this further, Young writes:

> Poet, novelist, statesman, journalist, everyone who wished to give his doings the importance which in his own secret judgement, perhaps, they did not possess, put them down to the credit of his Mission.[10]

The ideal of service pervaded the lives of both men and women; how this service could be fulfilled varied, however, according to one's sex. For most women of the middle classes, the ideals of service, duty, and mission were encompassed in the woman's role as wife and mother. A young girl usually moved from filial subservience as a daughter to wifely subservience; there was little opportunity for a young woman to discover alternatives or new vistas of authority.[11] Most women were dependent upon their husbands to provide them with a home and economic security and in return, the women were expected to dutifully serve their husbands and families. As one commentator wrote in a book on Female Piety, or the Young Woman's Friend and Guide:

> It is essential to your making home happy that there should be much self-denial, a spirit of forbearance, an occasional surrender, for the sake of peace, of supposed rights, a willingness to forego what you would rightfully claim as your own.[12]

Marriage was regarded as a privilege for women, a privilege they should repay in terms of service and fulfillment of duty. The assumption that women were destined for service was an attitude that remained

strong throughout the nineteenth-century, although women like Charlotte Bronte complained bitterly about such assumptions. In an excerpt from Bronte's novel Jane Eyre, a proposed marriage is being considered by Jane:

> but as his wife - at his side always, and always restrained, and always checked- forced to keep the fire of my nature continually low, to compel it to burn inwardly and never utter a cry, though the imprisoned flame consumed vital after vital this would be unendurable.[13]

Women were told their responsibility in the home included the creation of a moral atmosphere, and that the improvement of society depended upon such a moral atmosphere being fostered in the home. In an article appearing in an 1842 issue of the Eclectic Review, one reads that

> mothers, nurses, servants, these are the persons that impart our first ideas and produce our first impressions. If they give the curious and wondering faculties of childhood a wrong direction, if they pervert its generous susceptibilities; no subsequent labours can counteract the evil, the 'child' has been trained in the way it should not 'go' .[14]

Women were told that they were useful and also essential to the comfort and well-being of all who were in the home and that the home reflected both her achievement and importance. Jenni Calder writes that the significance of asserting women's usefulness within the home was that it kept women more firmly out of the big world; if there was neglect on the woman's part, husband, children, and the family itself would suffer. Furthermore, writes Calder, "the inevitable effect of seeing women primarily as homemakers was to disparage the usefulness of those who never had the opportunity."[15] A common stereotype was that of the

sterile and useless old maid, and unmarried females of any status came into this category. In return for the security of a home, the unmarried aunt, sister, or daughter was expected to pay willingly in terms of the service she could give. As Asa Briggs writes, it was women - often 'maiden aunts', who "played a leading part not only in family welfare but in the making of Victorian social policy and the practical application of an ideal of service."[16]

The ideal of service was translated, in the nineteenth-century, as a religion of duty and the woman's role as helpmate and moral advisor to the family was expanded to that of helpmate and maintainer of morality for society in general. The poor, the ill, and the children were considered to be the particular refuge of women; women were believed to intrinsically possess the virtues of charity, sacrifice, selflessness and devotion. F. D. Maurice declared that sacrifice was part of the woman's role and calling, and Harriet Martineau wrote that "every female infant born into this world is a nurse by nature."[17] Young girls were to become involved in 'good works' as part of their moral training and education. Women were advised to help wherever there was great suffering and need; "there are abodes of misery in all our towns and parishes," wrote J. W. Kaye in 1857, "in which our English ladies may do incalculable good."[18] Francoise Basch concludes that

> woman is to oppose the moral corruption propagated by a materialistic system of laissez-faire which Victorian thinkers denounced in the name of Christianity and culture. They wanted her to contribute to the maintenance of spiritual values in a century and a country given over to money, profit, and competition.[19]

Eventually, in the latter part of the nineteenth-century the advocates of work for women were able to use their 'service' experiences as a basis for demanding the right to enter the professions. As G. M. Young wrote: "In a generation not less scientific than benevolent, the evolution of the ministering angel into the professional teacher, nurse, or doctor was inevitable ."[20] Williams would perhaps argue that when women began to question those who had authority over them, and to demand recognition of their rights, they were beginning to move beyond an ideal of service.

Sarah Stickney Ellis and the contributors to periodicals, particularly periodicals intended for a largely female reading audience, were writing and being published at a time in the nineteenth century when the ideal of service for women was rarely questioned. In fact, through their writings, Mrs. Ellis and the periodical contributors' were no doubt responsible for propagating and popularizing the ideal of service for women. Service, mission, and duty were topics expounded on at length in the books written by Mrs. Ellis and in the items published for and about women in the early nineteenth century periodicals. And these were the topics that became the cornerstones for the 19th century "image of woman."

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER FIVE

[1] G. M. Young, Portrait of an Age (Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 131.

[2] Raymond Williams, Culture and Society 1780-1950 (England: Penguin Books, 1958), p. 311.

[3] Ibid., p. 315.

[4] Ibid., p. 316.

[5] Quoted in Rosemary Jackson, "Duty & Desire," Encounter, (July, 1978), p. 73.

[6] Quoted Ibid., p. 73.

[7] W. J. Reader, Victorian England (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd.), p. 20.

[8] Quoted in Young, Portrait of an Age, p. 22.

[9] Ibid., p. 22.

[10] Ibid., p. 155.

[11] Jenni Calder, The Victorian Home (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1953), p. 157.

[12] Quoted Ibid., p. 145.

[13] Charlotte Bronte, Jane Eyre (New York: Randon House, 1943), p. 309.

[14] "Reviews," Eclectic Review, 54 12 (1842), p. 524.

[15] Calder, The Victorian Home, p. 125.

[16] Asa Briggs, Victorian People (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 21.

[17] Quoted in Reader, Victorian England, p. 23.

[18] Quoted Ibid., p. 23.

[19] Basch, Relative Creatures, p. 114.

[20] Young, Portrait of an Age, p. 80.

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FRIENDSHIP'S OFFERING, London: Smith, Elder & Co., Cornhill, 1840.

FORGET ME NOT, London: Ackermann and Co., 1840.

KEEPSAKE, London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1842.

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The Athenaeum, 1843, 1844.

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The English Journal of Education, 1845.

Fraser's Magazine, 1840.

Godey's Lady's Book, 1840.

The Metropolitan, 1843, 1845.

The Monthly Magazine, 1840.

The New Moral World, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844.

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The Saturday Magazine, 1843.

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APPENDIX A

ABSTRACT OF PERIODICAL DATA

The material in this appendix includes the charts that were developed to record the information obtained from the content analysis of the periodicals. The charts are titled according to periodical and subject matter, and were only made up for those subject categories that had items about women listed.

As well, a listing of the titles of the items recorded in the charts accompany each chart. The listing provides the title of the item, the author of the item if known, the location of the item in the periodical, and a very brief comment on the item's subject matter.

* Female characters could not be classified into one particular type.

BELLE ASSEMBLEE 1841

Book Reviews

1. A Legend of the Lover's Seat. A Poem. by Alfred Coleman. V. 14/P. 51.
   In praise of English women.

2. The Thrust For Gold. by Hannah D. Burdon. 14/P. 113.
   Justine, the heroine, "has all the softness of her sex, with a firm and resolute opinion of her own in love and justice."

3. Imagination, a Poem. by Louisa Frances Poulter. 14/P. 181.
   A host of 'sweet imaginings'.

4. Greville; or A Season In Paris. by Mrs. Gore.
   About the scenes of Parisian society as described by Mrs. Gore.

*5. The Last Days of Mary Stuart. by Miss Finch. 14/P. 364.

*6. My Opinion of Her. by Guido Sorelli. 14/P. 364.
   Reviewed as being in "bad taste" and being little complimentary to the ladies.

**NB - Many of the books reviewed are written by women authors, although, the topics of these books do not necessarily concern only women.

BELLE ASSEMBLEE - BOOK REVIEWS

	MOTHER		WIFE		DAUGHTER		SPINSTER	
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BELLE ASSEMBLEE 1841

Biography/Memoir

1. Her Grace Caroline, Duchess of Richmond. 14/P. 61.
   -high-born, beautiful, virtuous.

2. The Right Honourable Lady John Russell. 14/P. 125.
   -beauty, virtue, amiable mind - high born circle.

3. The Right Honourable Georgina Baroness Dover. 14/P. 189.
   Biography is more about her male ancestors and husband.

4. The Right Honourable The Dowager Countess of Errol. 14/P. 253.
   More about ancestors.

5. Miss Marian Millicent Barton. 14/P. 317.
   -From a family that boasts 'great antiquity'.

NB - Many of the books reviewed in the section "Our Boudoir Table; Or, Glances at New Publications" include books of the memoir/biography type. For example:

-The Last Days of Mary Stuart

-Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, Founder of Dulwich College

-The Life of Beethoven

-The Life and Pontificate of Gregory the Seventh

-The Life and Times of Montrose

-The Life and Exploits of Commodore Napier

-The Life and Adventures of Vidocq

BELLE ASSEMBLEE - BIOGRAPHY/MEMOIR

	MOTHER	WIFE	DAUGHTER	SPINSTER
1		E(U.C.) A		
2		E(U.C.) A		
3		E(U.C.) A		
4		E(U.C.) A		
5		?A		
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BELLE ASSEMBLEE 1841

Natural History/Science

1. Botany, No. 1. "Its Advantages as an Amusement, Independent of Science". 14/P. 111.
   What biology offers to women who pursue it.

BELLE ASSEMBLEE - NATURAL HISTORY/SCIENCE

	MOTHER	WIFE	DAUGHTER		SPINSTER
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BELLE ASSEMBLEE 1841

Fiction

1. "The Fratricide" by Leigh Cliffe, Esq. 14/P. 1.
   Setting: Castle in Italy. Strongest female characters are an old servant and the daughter of the castle owner.

2. "A Tale of Truth" by Miss Anna Maria Sargeant. 14/P. 13.
   A young man wishes to marry a virtuous young lady. His father has planned another match for his son and refuses his permission. Boy then dies, rather than marry another.

3. "The Neapolitan" 14/P. 18.
   The leading female character is the wife of the Marquis; upper aristocracy.

4. "The Only Son" by Elizabeth Youatt. 14/P. 21.
   A young girl marries a young man, only after she is sure his mother approves of her. Speaks of the 'invisible power' of love.

5. "The Three Pictures" 14/P. 25.
   Story of Florence Rivers during three stages of her life. She is something of a coquette, with deeper qualities apparent as well.

6. "Beads From the Rosary of a Frenchman" by Calder Campbell. 14/P. 30.
   Young unmarried girl, pregnant, jumps off bridge, but is saved by a man who marries her.

7. "Marriage" 14/P. 40.
   Mad-woman plans to marry another to revenge her husband.

8. "A Sister of Charity" by Isabel. 14/P. 44.
   Girl marries an exiled count, but his family disapproves of her. Girl gives up the count and becomes a nun.

9. "Suspicion" by Elizabeth Polack. 14/P. 46.
   Girl proves herself a true friend - despite incorrect suspicions about her.

10. "The Fratricide" (2) by Leigh Cliffe, Esq. 14/P. 61.
    Nina, wife of the dead brother of the castle owner - meets her son who knows nothing of his family.

11. "Cornet O'Sullivan" by Mrs. Edward Thomas. 14/P. 85.
    Irish setting - young girl wants her true love to write her a poem as proof of his love for her.

12. "The Unsigned Deed" 14/P. 92.
Despite their uncle's protest, a young couple marry.

13. "The Rector's Daughter" 14/P. 95.
Laura meets, falls in love with, and marries a young man.

14. "The Three Pictures" 14/P. 107.
Florence rebukes the love and wisdom of her lover. He marries another, and she dies.

15. "The Fratricide" 14/P. 125.
Fransisco falls in love.

16. "The Young Physician" by Miss Anna Maria Sargeant. 14/P. 140.
Girl is engaged - her fiance marries another; he later realizes his folly, is widowed, and marries first girl.

17. "A legend of Maremma" by Elizabeth Youatt. 14/P. 145.
Young girl dies; her husband thought she loved another.

18. "The Fugitive" by Miss Lydia Campbell. 14/P. 148.
Lovers, marry one another unknowingly.

19. "The Doctor's Story" 14/P. 148.
About disenchantment; girl falls in love with a man's looks, but when she meets him she realizes he is unworthy of her love.

20. "The Three Pictures" 14/P. 66.
Florence Rivers repents - as nun. Eventually united with former lover.

21. "Helen Clavering" by Mrs. Mary H. Parsons. 14/P. 170.

22. "The Fratricide" 14/P. 189.
Setting: Queen Elizabeth's court. One of the court ladies loves a man, but is being courted by another.

23. "The Rival Belles" by Miss Anna Maria Sargeant. 14/P. 204.
Young married woman has an admirable husband but hates her new name.

24. "The Soldier's Wife" 14/P. 208.
Girl denied right to see lover by her mother. He becomes a soldier but deserts in order to return to the girl. They marry, but in the end both die.

25. "The Irish Fireside" by H. D. Richardson. 14/P. 211.
Story told by young boy, relating his biography. Discusses his parents, first love, and schooling.

26. "The Trials of Lucy Allerton" by E. Youatt. 14/P. 220.
A girl falls in love with a young man. He is fickle, but in later years they meet again and marry.

27. "The Two Uncles" by Miss Matilda Brown. 14/P. 223.
Ann tries to help an escaping man, and risks her father's wrath by doing so.

28. "The Fatal Marriage" by Isabel. 14/P. 227.
Mother marries the man her daughter secretly loved. Result: unhappiness for all!

29. "The Death of Marat" 14/P. 234.
Charolette Corday kills Marat in order to revenge the death of her husband - Frederic Beauchamp.

30. "Seraphina, Or, The Woman of Genius" 14/P. 238.
An intellectual woman, who is trying to be like men mentally, forgets to act like a woman. Her lover leaves her because she would not be a dutiful wife, and lived the rest of her life very unhappily.

31. "The Dying Boy and the Good Cheverus" 14/P. 240.
A young boy is dying and is counselled by a wise and religious mother.

32. "The Fratricide" - cont.

33. "The Two Uncles" - cont.

34. "Beads From the Rosary of a Frenchman" by Blanche de Beaulien. 14/P. 277.
Blanche, a girl educated in masculine exercises and amusements.

35. "The Married Rake" by Mrs. Edward Thomas. 14/P. 285.
Two men discussing marriage - one for it and the other against it.

36. "The Skeleton Hand" 14/P. 228.
Gertrude is murdered by a jealous lover.

37. "The Billkee Fish-Girl" by Orinda Millett. 14/P. 291.
A sick girl dies when her betrothed is lost at sea.

38. "A Mother's Last Prayer" 14/P. 295.
A young girl hears her mother's prayer for her. The mother is on her death-bed, and the prayer guides the girl for the remainder of her life.

39. "The Beauty Transformed" 14/P. 295.
Catherine is a young and silly girl who meets Clifton, a religious young man. Slowly, she realizes the emptiness of her life, and changes as she too acquires religious belief. Catherine and Clifton marry.

40. "The Fratricide" 14/P. 317.
Fransisco believes Gertrude has drowned, and he attempts to drown as well. He is saved, and learns too that Gertrude has not drowned.

41. "The Neapolitan" - cont.

42. "A Strange Story" by Elizabeth Youatt. 14/P. 329.
A young girl thinks she has the plague, so runs away the night before she is to be married.

43. "A Tale of The Fifteenth Century" by Anna Maria Sargeant. 14/P. 333.
(Set in 1463 - escape of Queen Margaret of Anjou.) Young peasant maiden befriends the Queen.

44. "The Two Uncles" - cont.

45. "Mark Glevitt" 14/P. 346.
Woman leaves her husband - he goes mad, but is cared for by his faithful and doting daughter.

46. "Ruth Fairfax" 14/P. 356.
A man kills a young couple and keeps their infant boy. A young girl remains faithful throughout.

BELLE ASSEMBLEE - FICTION

	MOTHER		WIFE		DAUGHTER		SPINSTER
1			E(L.C.)	A	E	A	
2					E	A	
3			W.C.	D			
4	W.C.	D			E	A	
5					E	A	
6					S	A	
7					W.C.	D	
8					E	A	
9					E	A	
10	E	A					
11					S	A	
12					S	A	
13					S	A	
14					S	D	
15					S(U.C.)	A	
16					S	A	
17			S	D			
18					S	A	
19					S	D	
20			W.C.	D	E	A	
21					E	A	
22					E	A	
23			S	D			
24	W.C.	D			S	A	
25	W.C.	D					
26					E	A	
27					Ind.	A	
28					S	D	
29			Ind.	A			
30					Ind.	D	
31	E	A					
*32							
*33							
34					Ind.	A	

BELLE ASSEMBLEE - FICTION (2)

	MOTHER		WIFE		DAUGHTER		SPINSTER
35					E	A	
36					S	A	
37					S	D	
38	E	A			E	A	
39					S	D	
40					S	A	
*41							
42					E	A	
43			U.C.	A	E	A	
44							
45					E	A	
46					E	A	

BELLE ASSEMBLEE 1841

Poetry

1. "The Bride" by Mrs. Cornwell Baron-Wilson. P. 1/
   Warning the bride that marriage will have trials.

2. "To ____, Sister of the Deceased" 14/P. 12.
   Accept it, for she is in heaven.

3. "The Royal Matron" by Mrs. Cornwell Baron-Wilson. 14/P. 17.
   Queen looking upon her "sweet bud of hope".

4. "He Never Did Propose!" 14/P. 17.
   Promises and love, but no proposal.

5. "On the Marriage of a Friend" by Mrs. Bernard L'oste.
   Blessing the bride on a 'heart that can feel!'

6. "Matrimonial Recrimination" by Mrs. Edward Thomas. 14/P. 29.
   Husband and wife bickering.

7. "Mother Dear" by Florence Wilson. 14/P. 37.
   A daughter reassuring her mother.

8. "The Wish" 14/P. 72.

9. "The Assignation" by Mrs. Bernard L'oste. 14/P. 75.
   A man waiting for his love to appear.

10. "Stanzas To ***" by Sylvius 14/P. 84.
    Reminiscing about his love and how things were when they were together.

11. "Impromptu" by Mrs. Edward Thomas. 14/P. 91.
    On sending a pet dog to a young lady.

12. "Stanzas for Music" by W. Hodson. 14/P. 91.
    A man remembering the girl he loved with her 'face so fair' but heart so 'false and weak'

13. "Stanzas" by Mrs. William Quarles. 14/P. 91.
    A love meant to last - through hardships, etc.

14. "Enigma" by Leigh Cliffe, Esq. 14/P. 96.
    Three 'maidens' are sick and reader is to guess the cause of their sickness.

15. "A Mother's Changeless Love" by Mrs. Cornwell Baron-Wilson. 14/P. 134.
    On the occasion of the Royal baptism.

16. "Supposed Reflections of Eugene Aram" by Thomas Speakman. 14/P. 135.
Remembering past loves and bringing back happy memories.

17. "Didst Thou Think I Could Forget?" by Ida. 14/P. 139.
A man can never forget his love - the 'idol' of his heart.

18. "Lover, Versus Husband" by Mrs. Edward Thomas. 14/P. 139.
Lover becomes a husband, and regrets it.

19. "Ballad" by Marion. 14/P. 144.
The minstrel's farewell - his lady love only charmed to deceive.

20. "Impromptu Lines" by Diewn. 14/P. 150.
A man is at an evening entertainment but is not happy until he meets his love.

21. "Song-The Maid of the Dee' by Thomas Speakman. 14/P. 151.
About a love for an English maiden.

22. "Our English Fire Sides" by Mrs. J. H. Cornish. 14/P. 165.
Praising the role of women in the home.

23. "The Bridal" by Mrs. Bernard L'oste. 14/P. 165.
Cheerful bridegroom forgets about his former girl who's trusting heart is now 'beguiled'.

24. "Love and Heroism" by E. R. 14/P. 176.
A young girl saves the life of her lover - so women can be heroes too!

25. "The Griefs of a Household" by Mrs. Cornwell Baron-Wilson. 14/P. 197.
Boy leaves home to become a soldier; about the grief his family experiences in saying good-bye.

26. "Sonnet - The Anniversary" by Calder Campbell. 14/P. 203.
The spell that love casts.

27. "Impromptu" by Mrs. Edward Thomas. 14/P. 210.
A girl makes men slaves to her love.

28. "I am Thine! I am Thine!" by Mrs. Bernard L'oste. 14/P. 276.
At all times - I am thine.

29. "The Decay of Hope"
Love cools, on this false, false earth.

30. "The Old Bachelor" 14/P. 332.
A poem describing the lonely life of a man without a wife.

31. "On Woman" by Alfred S. 14/P. 336.
The tears and smiles of women cheer life.

32. "To My Brother in Africa" by Mrs. Bernard L'oste. 14/P. 336.
Sister thinking often of her brother - with faith and hope.

33. "The Sailor's Farewell" by Mary Wilson. 14/P. 343.
The sailor will never forget his dear Ellen

BELLE ASSEMBLEE - POETRY

	MOTHER		WIFE		DAUGHTER		SPINSTER	
1					E	A		
2					E	A		
3	E	A						
4					S	D		
5			E	A				
6			W.C.	D				
7					E	A		
8			S	A				
9					S	A		
10					S	A		
11					S	A		
12					W.C.	D		
13					E	A		
14							Ind.	D
15	E	A						
16					S	A		
17					S	A		
18					S	A		
19					W.C.	D		
20					S	A		
21					S	A		
22	E	A	E	A	E	A		
23					S	D		
24					E	A		
25	E	A			E	A		
26					S	D		
27					S	D		
28					S	A		
*29								
30			E	A				
31					S	A		
32					S	A		
33					S	A		
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MIRROR 1840

Other Countries' Customs

1. "Fatima and Alfonso Caston; or Moorish Customs". by Julius Schroeder. Vol. 1, P. 3.
   Fatima, the daughter, overcomes great obstacles to marry Alfonso, the man she loves.

2. "Sketches of Every Day Life in America - Intemperance" 1/P. 136.
   Intemperance in America - comparing the American women with English women. The American women drink less, and have stronger temperance movements.

3. "Female Bravery at Zargoza" 1/P. 138.
   A siege; the women relieved the wounded, carried water, wine, and provisions.

*4. "Tartar Women" 1/P. 326.
   Faces hid, wear veils.

5. "Dressiness of the Russian Women" 1/P. 340.
   All are very graceful, even the wives of tradesmen.

6. "Female Perfection - of the Greek and Christian Schools" Vol. 2/P. 7.
   The Greek standard for beauty is more stately and severe than the Christian.

*7. "Turkish Wives" 2/P. 186.
   -plurality of wives.

8. "Hindoo Marrriage Ceremonies" 2/P. 202.

MIRROR - OTHER COUNTRIES

	MOTHER	WIFE		DAUGHTER		SPINSTER
1				S	A	
2		E	A			
3		E	A			
*4						
5		S	A			
6				E	A	
*7						
8		E	A			
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MIRROR 1840

Book Reviews

1. Glencoe, or the Fate of the MacDonalds. A Tragedy. 1/P. 377.
   A love story about two brothers that love the same woman - destroys the love.

2. Poor Jack - No. 1. by Captain Marryat. 1/P. 12.
   About a boy's memory of a cruel mother who had beat him.

3. A Legend of Florence. A Tragedy. by Leigh Hunt. 1/P. 110.
   A husband lords it over his 'feeble and beautiful' wife - crushing the love and gentleness of her nature.

4. The Laird of Logan. 1/P. 394.
   A servant girl quits her job because she imagines a young man is in love with her and will want to marry her. Her mind is clouded with visions of love.

5. Queen Alcestis. Play by Euripides. 1/P. 394.
   Alcestis - "a beautiful picture of self-devotion, and a portrature of richer lovliness, or tenderer beauty, never entered the heart of man."

6. The Cambridge Portfolio. Part 1X. 1/P. 107.
   A description of the simplicity of a beautiful Quakeress. Her dress is fashionable, but she is not at all vain.

7. The Art of Needle-work from the Earliest Ages. 2/P. 173.
   Edited by the Countess of Wilton.

8. The Servant Girl in London. by R. Hastings. 1/P. 189.
   A handbook guide addressed to young females leaving home.

9. The Brides of Messina. A Tragedy. by Sheridan Knowles. 2/P. 220.
   About 'refined and beauteous sentiments'.

10. Jeremy Taylor's "Marriage Ring". 2/P. 259.
    Marriage is superior to celibacy and one should choose a wife for more than her beauty.

11. Fulcher's Ladies Memorandum Book, and Poetical Miscellany for 1840. 2/P. 282.
    A favourable review, recommends the book as appropriate for young ladies.

MIRROR - BOOK REVIEWS

	MOTHER		WIFE		DAUGHTER		SPINSTER	
1					S	D		
2	W.C.	D						
3			S	D				
4					S	D		
5			S	A				
6					E	A		
7			E	A				
8					E	A		
9	S	A	S	A	S	A		
10			E	A			W.C.	D
11					E	A		
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MIRROR 1840

Biography/Memoir

1. "Madame D'arblay". 1/P. 40.
   A gifted authoress with an intellectual spirit.

2. "The Brilliant Sister of Sir Sidney" 1/P. 70.
   About the love and affection that exists between a brother and sister.

*3. "Mary the First, Queen of England."
   Her household expenses and principle sums.

4. "Mary, Queen of Scotts."
   Describes the Queen as a dutiful mother.

5. "Vindication of the life of John Elwes", Esq. 1/P. 250.
   John Elwes is favoured in many ways but lacked the love of a woman.

*6. "Why Milton was Unfitted for the State Matrimonial"
   He couldn't come down to every-day life.

7. "The Behavior on the Scaffold of Marie Antoinette, Madame Roland, and Charlotte Corday" 1/P. 418.
   All face their death marvelously.

8. "Mrs. Elizabeth Carter" 2/P. 38.
   She 'adorned the annuals of female literature'.

9. "Queen Elizabeth's Spite". 2/P. 148.
   She does not let any woman of her court dress better than herself.

10. "Josephine's Shawls" 2/P. 285.
    The empresses passion for shawls.

11. "Pope Joan" 2/P. 360.
    Extract from publication of 1527 describing a woman who disguised herself as a man and became a pope.

12. "Rose Bengali" 2/P. 389.
    An Italian singer who sacrifices all for her lover.

MIRROR - BIOGRAPHY/MEMOIR

	MOTHER		WIFE		DAUGHTER		SPINSTER	
1			P	A				
2					S	A	S	A
*3								
4	E	A						
5			S	A				
*6								
7			Ind.	A				
8			E	A				
9							P	A
10			S	D				
11							P	D
12					S	A		
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MIRROR 1840

General Interest

1. "On Suicide" 1/P. 6.
   Suicide statistics. Women who commit suicide do so because of disappointed love.

2. "Female Knights of the Garter" 1/P. 54.
   Suggests it should be resumed; allow them to have a powerful influence in society.

3. "Supplementary Issue on the Marriage of Victoria the First, With Prince Albert." 1/P. 113.
   Description of the wedding, their vows, the breakfast, cake, etc.

4. "Beauty Preventative of Mental Improvement" 1/P. 128.
   Youth is time for improvement - not vanity! Beauty fades.

5. "The Seven Ages of Women" 1/P. 131.
   Description of a woman in the different stages of her life.

6. "Scottish Courtships" 1/P. 241.
   Describes these courtships. They are so slow that women are in danger of being left old maids.

7. "Fatherly Forgiveness" 1/P. 345.
   A father forgives his daughter who eloped with a man he did not approve of.

8. "Courtship" 1/P. 383.
   A woman's freedom is essential to courtship.

*9. "Christianity - Feminine" 1/P. 384.
   In its gentleness, suavity of tone, and humanity - Christianity is feminine.

10. "Madame Aubrey - A Woman's Magnanimity" 1/P. 416.
    Woman displays heroism while a robber is in her house.

11. "Female Tastes and Inclinations" 1/P. 391.
    Their remarkable uniformity.

12. "Importance of Woman's Poetry" 2/P. 21.
    The power of women's poesy is something man never owns.

13. "Colours for Dress" 2/P. 102.
    How ladies should use colour in their dress.

14. "Astonishing Mental Powers of the Blind" 2/P. 118.
About a girl named Laura Brigman who is blind and deaf, without smell, and being brought up in Boston Institution for the Blind. Compensating remarkably for her handicaps.

15. "Estimate of Paternal Duties in China"
A list of merits and errors relating to the conduct of females - the husband is considered answerable for these.

16. "Curious and Interesting Statistics of Lunacy" 2/P. 222.
Causes of lunacy in both men and women. Moral causes affect women more than physical ones.

17. "Modern English Poetesses" 2/P. 230.
Elizabeth Barrett and Mrs. Brooke - with editorial comments on the authorship of women.

18. "Fine Embroidery" 2/P. 258.
How women of various countries practice this.

19. "Modesty" 2/P. 277.
This is "doubly desirable" in a woman.

20. "Moral Economy of Large Towns" 2/P. 279.
Education of girls of poorer population is very poor; learning is not thought to be important enough for these girls.

MIRROR - GENERAL INTEREST/NON-FICTION

	MOTHER		WIFE		DAUGHTER		SPINSTER	
1					S	D		
2					Ind.	A		
3			E	A				
4					E	A		
5	E	A	E	A	S	D		
6			S	D			S	D
7					S	D		
8					E	A		
*9								
10			E	A				
11					S	D		
12					S	A		
13					S	A		
14					E	A		
15			E	A				
16			S	D	S	D		
17			S	A	S	A		
18			E	A				
19					E	A		
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MIRROR 1840

History

1. "Good Manners by Prescription" 1/P. 13.
   Russian empress (Peter the Great's Widow), introducing proper principle of steadiness and decorum among Russian women. Printed an order of observance.

2. "Royal Courtship" 1/P. 101.
   Henry VIII's survey of young Queen of Naples.

*3 "Marriage of Queen Mary" with Prince Philip of Spain.

4. "Fashions of the Fourteenth Century" 1/P. 146.
   Comparing unfavourably the fashions of present with those of the 14th century.

*5. "Anglo-Saxon Marriages" 1/P. 279.
   -past customs.

MIRROR - HISTORY

	MOTHER	WIFE		DAUGHTER	SPINSTER
1		E	A		
2		E	?		
*3					
4		S	D		
*5					
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MIRROR 1840

Fiction

1. "The Confessional" 1/P. 51.
   About love, both man and woman die - a Romeo and Juliet theme.

2. "Zuma" 1/P. 133.
   A girl performs bravery; does her duty and is eventually recognized for this.

3. "The Speculator" 1/P. 143.
   Wife's concern about sick husband - she nurses and cares for him.

4. "Two Days Among the Ruins of Kenilworth Castle" 1/P. 223.
   A love story; a man saves a female and they later find each other and marry.

5. "A Bard's Revenge of his Master" 1/P. 63.
   An unfaithful wife is caught and punished.

6. "Prince Zerobabel's Answer" 1/P. 240.
   Truth is stronger than wine, the King, or a woman.

7. "Sketches of Every Day Life in America - Intemperance" P. 242
   A drunken husband ruins marriage and family life. Wife must suffer.

8. "The Picker and Piler" 1/P. 287.
   Man kills his daughter's lover because the girl is pregnant.

9. "Huckleberries in December" 1/P. 246.
   A girl's feelings triumph over her judgement; her reason is clouded by passion.

10. "Christine" 1/P. 337.
    She must marry the man her parents chose or she must take up the veil. She escapes convent to join her true love. He is killed and she is left speechless.

11. "The Knight of Felenstein" 1/P. 366.
    About a father's love for his sweet, pious daughter.

12. "Caliph Omar" 2/P. 51.
    About a mother trying to care for her starving children.

13. "The Corbeille of Louise" 2/P. 72.
    An engaged lady wants the engagement gift, but not the husband. She ends up with neither.

14. "The Two Punishments" 2/P. 103.
A woman bases her actions on the remembrance that she is a mother and must set an example.

15. "Love-Story of Raphael" 2/P. 133.
Raphael falls in Love with Trasteverina - because of her beauty.

16. "The Portrait of a Beauty" 2/P. 148.
'magical power of beauty' - wife prevents husband from learning the identity of beauty.

17. "Wolkenburg" 2/P. 165.
Evil sister practices sorcery in the attmpt to harm her brother's sweet and gentle fiance.

18. "The Golden Anklet" 2/P. 180.
Slave girl learns to love her master, and would rather remain a slave than be set free.

19. "Caesar's Day of Pleasure" 2/P. 244.
Song of a young girl - exists only for her beloved.

20. "Taking the Census" 2/P. 271.
Woman declares herself "head of the family" because she is silly and does not understand the meaning of the word 'census'.

21. "The Young Beauty of Nantucket" 2/P. 285.
Her beauty and appeal is emphasized.

22. "Tales of a Brigand" 2/P. 355 .
Young beauty marries only for love, is disappointed by what she does not know about her husband.

MIRROR - FICTION

	MOTHER		WIFE		DAUGHTER		SPINSTER
1					S	D	
2					E	A	
3			E	A			
4					S	A	
5			S	D			
6			S	D			
7			E	A			
8					S	D	
9					S	D	
10					S	D	
11					E	A	
12	E	A					
13					W.C.	D	
14	E	A					
15					S	A	
16			E	A	S	D	
17					W.C./S	D/A	
18					S	A	
19					S	A	
20			?	D			
21					S	A	
22					S	D	
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MIRROR 1840

Poetry

1. I've Hoped in Vain to Meet With Thee" by Andrew Park. P. 67.
   "Ardent flame - consuming my breast - longing to meet his true love."

*2. "The Lov'd, the Lost, of Happier Days" 1/P. 82.
   Weeping for lost youth and lost love.

3. "Words of Beauty" by W. T. Moncrieff.
   The words of beauty are: Mother, sister, love and home.

*4. "Fine Gold" - From the German. 1/P. 271.
   Love - delicate and special.

5. Fine Gold - "Exquisite Love of Mothers" 1/P. 271.
   by Herder.

*6 "A Letter From a Young Lady Twelve Years of Age, to Her Governess" 1/P. 308.

*7. "The Hour to Woo" 1/P. 308.
   When is love most tender and true?

8. "The Mad-Maiden of Bruyeres" 1/P. 355.
   Love is a demon - a woman is driven mad by her unrequited love.

9. "A Chorus of Old Poets" P. 346.
   Choose a wife for wit and modesty, not for beauty because beauty will only fade.

10. "Sonnet to ***" 1/P. 366.
   Written to the one he loves.

11. "A Mother's Guardian Care"

12. "To Emma" 1/P. 391.
   A poem about the author's passion for Emma - "Love, heightened by virtue".

*13. "A Besiegement by Love" 1/P. 401.
   "He was thoroughly in love, and love was thoroughly in him."

14. "How Weary is this Town to me" 1/P. 415.
   A man misses his home, his Ellen, and his garden.

15. "The Forgiven Mary Magdalen" 2/P. 3.

16. "The Dream and Other Poems" by the Hon. Mrs. Norton. 2/P. 20.
About the duties of a woman, to be constantly caring for her man in her role as his sister, friend, mother, or wife.

17. "Lines Addressed to an Infant Cousin" 2/P. 18.
About a mother's love for her child.

18. "Song" 2/P. 147.
About Cupid and young love. Young love is depicted as a rover, caught by a young maid.

19. "Rosabelle" 2/P. 148.
What a knight and a monk do for the lovely Rosabelle.

20. "The Motherless" 2/P. 164.
The plight of a motherless child.

21. "Ophelia" 2/P. 264.
Spirit of love - can drive one to madness and despair.

*22. "To the Infant Princess Royal" 2/P. 354 by Leigh Hunt.
A poem of welcome.

*23. "Song" 2/P. 388.
A poem about the wonderfulness of love.

24. "Love's Remonstrance" 2/P. 405.
Young girl is asked to not take offence as a stolen kiss.

*25. "To a Beautiful Indian Girl" by C. E. Vandenhoff
A lovely maiden is saddened because her nation is dying.

MIRROR - POETRY

	MOTHER		WIFE		DAUGHTER		SPINSTER
1					S	A	
*2							
3	S	A					
*4							
5	S	A					
6					S	A	
*7							
8					S	D	
9			E	A			
10					S	A	
11	E	A					
12					S	A	
*13							
14			S	A			
15					E	A	
16	E	A	E	A	E	A	
17	E	A			E	A	
18					S	A	
19					S	A	
20	S	A					
21					S	D	
22					✓		
23					S	A	
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FRIENDSHIP'S OFFERING 1840

Fiction

1. "The Sons of Solyman" by the Hon. Mrs. Erskine Norton. p. 1
   Setting: Turkey, Young English girl falls in love with a prince - who is later murdered. She dies literally of a broken heart.

2. "The Doctor's Two Patients" p. 82.
   A good, kindly doctor marries the equally good and kind daughter of a patient of his.

3. "Letters From the Other World" p. 113.
   Despite great obstacles in their path, a young couple overcomes them and are united in marriage.

4. "The Co-Heiresses" by Agnes Strickland. p. 157.
   Two sisters love men their father and their position in society does not declare 'right' for them. Love triumphs - the two couples wed.

5. "The Painter" by W. H. Harrison. p. 181.
   A young girl falls in love with a painter who is her peer as well. They marry.

6. "Constance" by Camilla Toulmin. p. 217.
   A young girl and man fall in love. Because of a misunderstanding they fall apart, but in end are united in marriage.

7. "The Interpretation of the Dream" by J. A. St. John p. 249.
   Girl betrayed by her lover, so she kills him.

8. "The Irish Wedding" p. 273.
   A couple run away and are secretly married.

9. "The Plague Treasure" by J. A. St. John. p. 289.
   A young man falls in love with a girl of a higher rank. He digs for treasure in order that he has enough money to marry the girl. A happy ending.

10. "My Cousin and the Curate" p. 323.
    The curate falls in love with the cousin (a weak and vain character). She marries a richer man, and the curate realizes he loves the good and sweet Blanche.

11. "The Girl of Bulgaria" by Werner. p. 349.
    Lovers must flee their homeland. They marry, are happy, and one day return to the home they had to flee.

FRIENDSHIP'S OFFERING - FICTION

	MOTHER	WIFE	DAUGHTER		SPINSTER
1			S	A	
2			E	A	
3			S	A	
4			S	A	
5			S(U.C.)	A	
6			S	A	
7			S	D	
8			S	D	
9			S	A	
10			W.C.	D	
11			S	A	
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FRIENDSHIP'S OFFERING 1840

Poetry

1. "The Bride" by Octavian Blewitt. p. 203.
   The bride dies because her lover has died.

2. "The Renegade's Daughter" by T. K. Hervey. p. 205.
   A young girl is left an orphan, but does not abandon hope because she can still find love.

FRIENDSHIP'S OFFERING - POETRY

	MOTHER	WIFE	DAUGHTER		SPINSTER
1			S	A	
2			S	A	
3					
4					
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FORGET ME NOT 1840

Fiction

1. "Old Betty's Nook" by The Old Sailor. p. 17.
   A young woman is forced to marry a rich man and forfeit her own true love. Her husband dies, her son is kidnapped, but eventually she is reunited with her son and her first lover.

*2. "The Masquerade" p. 85.
   Setting: Italy, upper class society.

3. "Spike Island. A legend" by Miss M. A. Brown. p. 121
   Setting: Ireland (with fairies). Young woman and man fall in love. They need the help of fairies to bring about their own wedding (against the wishes of the girl's guardians).

4. "The Younger Son" p. 157.
   Love triumphs over scheming match-making. Setting: France, 1814.

5. "Adeline" p. 221
   A story about the sad plight of a governess.

6. "Fisher Jenny" by Major Calder Campbell. p. 235.
   Setting: Scotland. Jenny is an old maid - who possesses masculine characteristics, and marvelous healing powers.

7. "Willsby Old Hall" by Mary Howitt. p. 265.
   Setting: 1740's Cruel old woman loves a young man and wants to marry him. He is in love with the young lady who lives with the old woman. The young couple marry and the old woman seeks her revenge.

8. "Alice Bertram" p. 291.
   A young girl is betrayed by her lover, and dies.

*9. "The Polish Lovers" by Miss Louise H. Sheridan. p. 329.
   Young lovers perish.

10. "The Tapestried Chair" by Miss Lee. p. 343.
   Edith is betrothed to a man she has never met. Although she is in love with another, she does her duty and marries the man her father has chosen for her. It turns out he is the same man she loves.

FORGET ME NOT - FICTION

	MOTHER		WIFE		DAUGHTER		SPINSTER	
1	S	A	S	A				
2					S(U.C.)	A		
3					S	A		
4	W.C.	D			S	A		
5					E(L.C.)	A		
6							E	A
7					S	D	W.C.	D
8					S	D		
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FORGET ME NOT 1840

Poetry

*1. "To Her Majesty Queen Victoria" by James Montgomery p. 9.
On her coronation.

2. "The Eve of the Bridal" by Mrs. Walker p. 155
Love triumphs over reason.

3. "The Ascent of the Spirit" by Mary Howitt p. 195.
Young girl dying in poverty, but is praying to her savior.

*4. "The Benefactress" by Mrs. L. H. Sigourney p. 217
The person speaking in the poem will never forget her benefactress.

5. "Song". by Major Calder Campbell p. 220
A man no longer loves a young woman, because she has become so changed and worldly.

6. "The Captive Princess" by Miss M. A. Browne p. 257.
Princess refuses to marry the count who has captured him. She will only marry the man she loves.

7. "To Agatha" by Edward Noyce Brown. p. 287.
A love poem.

*8. "The Dappled Doe" by Miss Lawrence. p. 287.

9. "Song" by Charles Swain", Esq. p. 360.
A mother is weeping for her son at sea.

FORGET ME NOT - POETRY

	MOTHER		WIFE		DAUGHTER		SPINSTER
*1							
2			S	A	S	A	
3					E	A	
*4							
5					W.C.	D	
6					S	A	
7					S	A	
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KEEPSAKE 1842

Fiction

1. "Circumstantial Evidence" by G. P. R. James, Esq. p. 3.
   A man is accused on circumstantial evidence, of killing his friend. The sister of the man killed believes her lover (the accused) is telling the truth in spite of the evidence. It turns out that he was telling the truth.

2. "The Glenroys" by Miss Worthington. p. 24.
   Glenroy discovers that the two women he is beginning to love are one woman. The woman loves Glenroy and does much for him.

3. "The Lady Jemima Heatherfield" by The Countess of Blessington. p. 74.
   Set in the past. The Marquis marries a beautiful young girl. She is murdered by a lovely 'Florentine' girl who mistakenly thoughit it was her own husband the girl had married.

*4. A story of the death of Elizabeth of England.
   "The Ring" by Arthur Hume Plunket, Esq. p. 108.

5. "Vera Capel" by C. L. E. p. 125.
   A young girl, almost an orphan, meets with a friend of her father's. They fall in love and marry, and her wandering father returns.

6. "Elise Duchaisne" by Miss Power. p. 147.
   A young girl falls in love with a man of a higher class. She endures many hardships, but in the end she marries the man.

7. "The Wanderer" by John Heneage Jesse, Esq. p. 161.
   A story about a young man who falls in love with a young girl. She, however, loves someone else.

8. "The Lady Emmeline's Picture" by Baroness De Calabrilla. p. 187.
   A story about two sisters: one selfish and false, the other sincere and loving. The uncaring sister is to marry the man her sister loves. In end, love wins and the good sister marries her love.

*9. "The Pearl-Hilted Poignard" by Arthur Hume Plulatt, Esq. p. 223.
   Set in the past.

10. "The Betrayed" by Mrs. Romer. p. 239.
   A beautiful but fickle girl is betrothed to one man, and then drops him to marry another. This drives the first man crazy, and both he and the girl end up drowning.

*11 "Threse" by Lord William Lennox. p. 262.

KEEPSAKE - FICTION

	MOTHER		WIFE		DAUGHTER		SPINSTER
1					S	A	
2					S	A	
3					S(U.C.)	A	
4					E	A	
5	S	A	S	A	S	A	
6					S	A	
7					S	A	
8					S	A	
*9							
10	E	A			S	D	
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KEEPSAKE 1842

Poetry

*1. "The Doom of Cheynholme" by Miss Theodosia Garrow. p. 87.
The curse of the Cheynholme family affects the women of the family as well.

*2. "Ask Not if I Loved Thee!" by Lady Wyatt. p. 124.
A poem about love; the girl hurts, but still loves.

*3. "The Nightingale" by Lady Stepney. p. 144.
A poem about the object one loves not lasting.

4. "To The Lady Harriet Chichester" by Alexander Cochrane, Esq. p. 145.
Praising the 'youthful glory' of the young girl.

*5. "Stanzas" by Mrs. Cornwell Baron Wilson
A poem about love.

6. "To a Young Italian Lady" by W. Harrison Ainsworth, Esq. p. 217.
A love poem - to the memory of his love.

7. "Jealousy" by Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer Bart. p. 221.
Man experiencing jealousy for all that rivals the attentions of the woman he loves.

*8. "Recall Me Not" by Tyrone Power. p. 279.
Wants his love to remember only the good things about him, and be blind to his faults.

KEEPSAKE - POETRY

	MOTHER	WIFE	DAUGHTER		SPINSTER
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